

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

VOL. III.

APRIL, 1903.

NO. 10.

The Taff Vale Decision and Incorporation of Trade Unions.

THE striking feature of the current press comment on the Taff Vale decision is the dense editorial ignorance of the elementary legal principles involved in the case. The capitalistic editors are jubilant over the fact that a way has at last been discovered to curb "the tyranny of the trade-unions": just compel them by law to incorporate so that they may be mulcted in damages. A great alarm is exhibited in the labor press over the "impending danger to trade-unionism" from incorporation.

The irrelevancy of all this clatter must be clear to any one who will take the trouble to familiarize himself with the law on the subject. Let us first see what were the facts in the Taff Vale case.

A preliminary injunction was obtained by the Taff Vale Railway Company against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, restraining the union from picketing. The injunction was based on the English act, which, though exempting trade unions and strikes from the operation of the conspiracy law, expressly prohibits what is termed "besetting" of persons who are willing to take the places of striking workmen. An appeal from the order was taken to the Court of Appeal. On the merits of the controversy, it was argued on behalf of the union that "picketing" was not unlawful; not relying, however, upon this defense, counsel for the union attempted to defeat the injunction upon the technical ground that a trade union, being neither a corporation nor a partnership, could not be sued in court. The Court of Appeal sustained this technical objection and dissolved the injunction, without passing upon the right of picketing. As should have been expected, an appeal was taken by the railway company to the House of Lords. The right of picketing was not in issue before the House of Lords. The only question upon this appeal

was, Can a trade union be sued? The answer was in the affirmative, and that was the only logical answer that any sane person, except a technical lawyer, could have anticipated. (a)

I do not wish to be uncharitable with the counsel for the Amalgamated Society. A lawyer wants to win his case, by a square fight if he can, by a technical trick if he must. In this case a further excuse for counsel can be found in the fact that they were sustained in one court and were therefore justified in trying to work their trick higher up. But it is folly for a trade union, which is fighting for the rights of labor, to dodge the issue when it is taken into court. The main question in the case was the right of picketing, and it was to the union's interest to have this point decided by the courts one way or another. Instead of that the union allowed its counsel to sidetrack the vital issue by absurd technicalities.

The contention of its counsel practically meant that a trade union, like the king, "can do no wrong;" no matter what wrong it might actually perpetrate, it could not be prosecuted in court. Had the law been held to permit of such an anomaly, the defect would sooner or later have been cured by legislation. The trade unions may boast of a great deal of influence in English politics, but not enough to secure them such an immunity as no citizen or corporation enjoys under the modern theory of equality before the law.

Let us forget for a moment that the decision was rendered by the House of Lords—could any other decision be rendered by a Socialist judge? The spectacle of the Knights of Labor Cutters' Union and A. F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union striking and scabbing against each other is not of a nature to encourage making a labor union the sole judge of right or wrong in its own case.

The Taff Vale decision has laid down no new rule of law. As pointed out in one of the opinions in the Taff Vale case, (b) the practice of the courts of equity has long since established a method of procedure against an unincorporated association, by what is known as a "representative action." Such an action may be maintained in the following cases:

"(1) Where the question is one of common or general interest, and one or more sue, or defend for the benefit of the whole; (2) where the parties form a voluntary association for public or private purposes, and those, who sue, or defend, may fairly be presumed to represent the rights and interests of the whole; (3)

(a) See Testimony of Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich on incorporation of trade unions, given before the Industrial Commission prior to the Taff Vale decision. Report of the Industrial Commission, vol. XIV., p. 159.

(b) 1. Taff Vale Railway Company vs. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, A. C. (1901), 426.

where the parties are very numerous, and although they have, or may have separate, distinct interests, yet it is impracticable to bring them all before the court.”(a)

“The like doctrine applies to cases, where there are many persons, belonging to a voluntary association, against whom the suit is brought. In such cases, it is sufficient that such a number of proprietors are brought before the court, as may fairly represent the interests of all, where those interests are of a common character and responsibility.”(b)

In the United States suits against unincorporated associations were authorized very early by statute. In Pennsylvania the courts were given, by the act of 15th June, 1836, sec. 15,, “the supervision and control of all unincorporated societies or associations.”(c)

In New York the equity rules quoted above were, in 1847, embodied in the Code of Procedure, sec. 119, corresponding to sec. 448 of the present Code of Civil Procedure, which contains the following clause:

“Where the question is one of a common or general interest of many persons; or where the persons, who might be parties, are very numerous, and it may be impracticable to bring them all before the court, one or more may sue or defend for the benefit of all.”

The same provision was reproduced from the New York Code in the codes or revised statutes of many other States(d) and in the British Judicature Act of 1873.

Under these statutes actions were maintained against the Knights of Labor, the United Garment Workers of America, the Essex Trade Council of Newark, N. J., and numerous other unincorporated trade unions.(e)

These legal details may, perhaps, appear wearisome to the lay reader, but I deem them necessary to convince the trade-unionist and his Socialist sympathizer that a trade union can gain no immunity from judgments by fighting shy of incorporation. Very soon they may be awakened from this fancied security to the realization of the fact that an unincorporated trade-union is exposed to attack where incorporation would offer some measure of protection. It will be remembered that in a recent injunction case a

(a) Story, Equity Pleading, Sec. 97.

(b) Ibid., Sec. 116.

(c) Stevick, Unincorporated Association, p. 5.

(d) California Code of Civil Procedure, Sec. 382; Civil Code of Kentucky, Sec. 25; Revised Statutes of Ohio, Sec. 5008; see also Codes of Indiana (Sec. 270), Colorado (Sec. 12), Nebraska (Sec. 43), Kansas (Sec. 38), etc.

(e) Wicks vs. Monihan, 130 N. S. 932; Sinsheimer vs. United Garment Workers of America, 5 Misc. 448; s. c. 77 Hun. 215; Mayer vs. Journeymen Stonecutters' Association, 47 N. J. Eq. 519; Barr vs. Essex Trade Council, 53 N. J. Eq. 101.

rabid capitalistic judge advised the attorney for the corporation to amend the complaint by inserting a demand for money damages and threatened to have every striker stripped of his last suit of clothes in satisfaction of the judgment. From a circular letter of the National Civic Federation it is learned that this utterance voices a widespread sentiment among the judiciary. The injunction has been used to break strikes, now comes the judgment for damages to break the unions. In an action against an unincorporated union judgment may be rendered against each individual member for the full amount of the plaintiff's claim, as in the case of a partnership.* In States like Massachusetts, or Illinois, where wages are only partly exempt from execution, the sheriff could levy on the wages of every individual member of the union until the judgment for hundreds of thousands of dollars (as in the Taff Vale case) were fully satisfied. In New York State, where wages are exempt, execution could be issued against the person of every member of the union and he could be locked up in jail. On the contrary, if a union is incorporated, only its corporate property could be reached by execution, not the individual property of its members.

The opposition to incorporation in quarters friendly to trade unions is therefore nothing but a Quixotic fight against windmills. The real objection to incorporation is the absence of a proper incorporation law suited to the nature of a trade union. But the defect could easily be remedied by legislative amendment. It is a fitting subject to be taken up by the Socialist representatives in the legislatures of Massachusetts and Montana and the two union Labor Congressmen from California. Backed up by the Socialist vote in the last Congressional election, any bill they may introduce on this subject is reasonably certain of passage.

Marxist.

*See Abb. N. C. 300, note, quoting Abbot's Digest of Corporation Laws.

The Economics of Socialism and the Economics of Capitalism.



ERE financial dishonesty is of very little importance in the history of civilization. Who cares whether Caesar stole or Caesar Borgia cheated? Their intellects stayed clear. The real evil that follows in the wake of a commercial dishonesty so general as ours is the intellectual dishonesty it generates. One need not mind stealing, but one must cry out at people whose minds are so befuddled that they do not know theft when they see it.

—J. J. Chapman in "Causes and Consequences."

The sanctions for Socialism are to be found in a study of economics. What these economic truths are which underlie the socialistic philosophy we shall endeavor to point out. We claim that they are fundamental and vital, and that they are impelling the movement onward with irresistible force.

These underlying truths are two: first, all wealth is the product of labor; second, labor is entitled to its product. That all the world's wealth is the product of labor does any one doubt? Let us briefly scan the range of human effort and see if we observe any exception. Labor tills the earth, builds our railroads, mines and transports the coal, gathers the ores, builds and operates the smelters, moulds and refines the metals, invents and constructs every machine from the simplest to the most intricate. Labor plans and erects our factories, labor fires the boilers, operates every machine and conveys the product to our doors. The energy of man, in the last analysis, is the creator of all wealth.

It is a self-evident truth also that labor is entitled to the full benefit of its creative effort. Does labor under our present system receive its entire product? We assert that it does not. To make this point clear it is only necessary to refer to a few of our capitalistic methods.

Our attention is not infrequently called to the schemers of Wall street who manipulate the stock market or to the speculators of Chicago who corner the grain market and who on occasions secure enormous profits thereby, without having performed an iota of productive labor. Note also the English and the Continental holders of our bonds and stocks, to whom millions of dollars are annually sent from our earnings without their having contributed one minute's thought even to production in our industries.

It is a matter of common observation that many revel in wealth and luxurious living who neither sow nor reap; that there is a multitude who derive support who do not contribute either by mental or muscular exertion to the production of anything. It is

also a matter of common observation that there is a much larger number who toil incessantly for a scanty subsistence. That labor does not receive its full reward is evident from this one fact alone, viz., that many who perform no labor receive such large returns from the product of labor.

The natural inquiry at this point is how is wealth diverted to the use of others than those who create it? This leads us to a consideration of the economics of Capitalism.

Surplus wealth in whatever it may consist, whether foods, clothing, household goods, machinery, or as represented ordinarily by our medium of exchange-money, possesses no inherent power to produce more wealth.

We grant that surplus wealth may represent the extra exertion or the self-denial of an individual, in which case he has the right to use that surplus when and as he pleases. Our contention is that surplus wealth has no power to add to, or multiply itself. To illustrate: a baker besides providing for himself and family, may have by economy succeeded in accumulating a surplus, say of one hundred loaves. Have these one hundred loaves power to become one hundred and ten loaves? A boat maker or a wagon maker by working overtime may have created a surplus of two boats or two wagons. Have these two boats or two wagons capacity to become more boats or more wagons? Surely not. On the contrary, wealth once created soon commences to deteriorate. The wealth of the world would soon disappear were it not continually recreated by labor.

A piece of silver coined into our medium of exchange, money—one dollar for instance—is not capable of producing anything, not even more money. It possesses neither brain, muscle or reproductive organs; how, then, can money create anything?

Let us formulate our inquiry in the terms of mathematics, thus: one hundred dollars plus nothing are how many? We say plus nothing because wealth in any form has no power to add more than nothing to itself, hence we state one hundred plus nothing are how many? The answer is one hundred, not one hundred and four or one hundred and six. But, you reply, one hundred dollars placed in a bank for a year amounts at the end of that time to one hundred and four dollars. This is equivalent to saying that one hundred plus nothing is one hundred and four—an absurdity. Take a twenty-dollar gold piece, place it where you will, leave it as long as you wish, it is never more than a twenty-dollar gold piece.

In our industries we manipulate our medium of exchange—money—contrary to all the truths of mathematics, and herein do we see the reason why labor does not receive its full reward. We insist through the device of usury that wealth, as represented by

capital, shall have power to multiply itself—that one hundred plus nothing shall amount to one hundred and four, one hundred and six, or one hundred and ten. Rockefeller insists that one hundred plus nothing shall amount to one hundred and forty-five. Thus is labor exploited.

Usury is a form of injustice arbitrarily imposed by the strong on the weak in the same manner as was human slavery. For ages it has been sanctioned by society, and to this day is approved by the general sentiment of the community. However, the truly thoughtful, interested in economics, are coming to recognize the injustice of usury in all its forms and to expose its fallacy.

It is asked, if through the device of usury, wealth which should in equity belong to its producer is diverted to the capitalist, why is the process termed exploitation? Is not the result in effect equivalent to robbery? In other words, is not exploitation a form of robbery legalized? It is charged that Rockefeller, who in his oil industry practically insists, through usury, that one hundred plus nothing shall equal one hundred and forty-five or one hundred and forty-eight, is a "robber" of the community. Rockefeller's methods of exploitation may differ in degree, but is he any more truly a "robber" than is the successful merchant or manufacturer who by careful business methods succeeds in clearing a profit on his invested capital of, say, six, eight or ten per cent? And he in turn, is he any more truly a "robber" than is the laborer who, from his scanty wage of one dollar and a half per day has succeeded in saving, say, fifty dollars, on which he draws four per cent interest through some savings bank? Is it not in a sense true that the only members of society who are not "robbers" are those who have not been able to accumulate a fund on which to exact usury, and is it through any intentional virtue on their part that they are not "robbers?"

To ask these questions is to answer them. For it is evident to the thoughtful that our present capitalistic system is a system of piracy, the members of the community pitted against each other, with this result—the greatest measure of success to the most cunning or the most fortunately situated.

These conditions peculiar to our economic system cannot be remedied by any individual or by a minority group of individuals. Our relief must come through a general movement of society organized to this end. It is this deplorable Capitalistic System which the Socialist seeks to replace with the Co-operative Commonwealth.

This conflict between Socialism and Capitalism may well be said to be a conflict between economic truth and economic error. The economic truths underlying the Socialistic Philosophy, are, as

stated: first, labor creates all wealth; second, labor is entitled to the wealth it creates—the whole of it.

The economic error underlying Commercialism, and directly antagonistic to the economic truths of Socialism, is that of usury. As previously shown, it is through this device of usury under its various forms of interest, rent, profit, dividends, that labor is exploited.*

At this point let us briefly consider that condition of stagnation in industry known as "hard times," when our factories are silent and laborers out of employment. Let us trace these effects to cause.

First, we may have a varying precipitating cause, such as lack of confidence, a close money market, etc. An underlying or more substantial cause is that of machine production. Through the use of power machinery we produce a larger volume of manufactured goods than we can consume during a given time—the markets becoming overstocked and the mills compelled to close. While the warehouses are filled with goods, the consumers—under ordinary circumstances unable to satisfy their wants—are now, with income curtailed or entirely cut off, able to consume far less than their normal amount; this condition of stagnation is in consequence greatly prolonged.

A deeper underlying cause is seen in the fact that the machinery of production is largely in the hands of the capitalist who controls the product of labor. The laborer is consequently shut out from its use and we have as a result destitution and starvation in the midst of plenty. These implements of production were wrested from the hands of the producers in the evolution of industry from hand to power production. Were these implements under the control of the producers, they would be operated as needed to supply their wants; there would be no serious shortage or overstock of manufactured goods?

Pushing our inquiry still further we discover that the incentive to production on the part of the capitalist who controls the machinery is not one of utility, but that of profit; interest on capital, dividends. And here, in this prominent feature of our Capitalistic System, Usury, we find the fundamental cause of our periods of business depression. In fact, this false and artificial factor in our present system is the real cause of a train of economic ills such as long hours of daily toil, low wages, poverty, distress and crime. It is the mission of Socialism to abolish usury and thus put a stop to all forms of exploitation.

Through the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth we find the only practical method to accomplish this end. Were

*We concede as legitimate that portion of rent necessary to keep a property in repair.

we to pass laws abolishing usury, and were it possible to enforce them, the remedy would be worse than the disease. Under our present system profit is the incentive to industry; were this prohibited production would be likely to cease, we would be in danger of starvation, surely we would suffer from cold, for we cease to produce, to manufacture or to transport merchandise as soon as our efforts become unprofitable.

Socialism takes over to collective ownership, the mines, the machinery and the productive forces of the nation to be operated by and for the people—eventually without interest, rent or profit to anyone. The Co-operative Commonwealth merges all the productive forces of the nation into one grand corporation in which each worker holds one share and to which he contributes his portion of creative effort; a corporation from which he receives in return the full product of one man's labor.

We should as soon expect to see a hungry man refuse to eat as a laboring man refuse to become a Socialist when he comprehends the principles involved.

We repeat, Socialism is a practical movement on the part of organized society to abolish usury and thus put a stop to the exploitation of labor.

The entire history of the social evolution of the human race has been a long drawn out, agonizing struggle for a more harmonious adjustment of the individual to the social whole. Socialism is a continued, *conscious and intelligent* movement of the social units in the same direction and is based on the modern conception of the "perfect solidarity of the interests of all mankind." The Co-operative Commonwealth is the crowning glory, the blossom and fruitage of social development. On the foundation of a just and abundant economic support for all, it furnishes a base for a marvelous growth for the higher aspirations of man.

A thoughtful and able writer, Isador Ladoff, in his book, "The Passing of Capitalism," says, "To be called a Socialist is to receive the highest compliment one man can pay to another; to be a true Socialist is the highest distinction a man can attain on earth."

RECAPITULATION.

Our argument is intended to show,

- 1st. That all wealth is the product of labor.
- 2d. That in equity labor is entitled to its product.
- 3d. That a large portion of wealth is diverted from labor, which creates it.
- 4th. That this wealth thus diverted is diverted through the device of Usury.

Wealth possessing no inherent power of increase, it follows that any additions to capital through the device of Usury must

come from the creations of labor and result, practically, in its enslavement (wage slavery).

5th. We have stated that this exploitive system was forcibly imposed by the strong over the defenceless, and that it is to-day sanctioned and maintained by general consent.

With the exception of a few thoughtful individuals, both the capitalist and laboring classes are not yet conscious of the injustice of Usury. This is owing to our capitalistic environment and training which have seriously befogged the mind and obscured the principles involved.

6th. We have maintained that the conflict between Socialism and Capitalism is a conflict between economic truth and economic error.

7th. We have contended that it is the mission of Socialism, eventually, to abolish Usury.

Finally, this conflict can have but one outcome. Like all previous conflicts between truth and error, economic truth must inevitably prevail and the Co-operative Commonwealth be inaugurated.

Charles C. Hitchcock.

The Great Strike on the Railroads of Holland.

WE thought we were far behind in the International labor movement. The "great industry" has very slowly developed in Holland. The domination of the small businesses, the anarchist propaganda, the power of religious ideas, the dull indifference of the mass—all these operated to hinder the development of the labor movement.

One year ago the situation appeared almost hopeless. But the proletariat is an unknown quantity. All the powers of the future slumber in it and it is as impossible for one to determine the exact moment in which water will turn into ice, or lightning to strike from the clouds, as to determine beforehand the moment of the outbreak of the accumulated revolutionary energy of the proletariat. There are critical times that pass over dully and heavily and again a little breath, an imperceptible disturbance of equilibrium suffices to gather together the clouds for a mighty tempest.

The experience of the last year has greatly changed the view of the Social Democracy in regard to the general strike. To be sure we had already given up the original position of absolutely rejecting the general strike, but the indifference and even the half conviction of the justification of this powerful means of class struggle has grown in just the degree that the idea of this weapon has entered into Social Democracy. Even if we consider the general strike of *all* laborers as sought after by the Anarchists, Utopian, and if we reject the idea that the general strike is the *only* weapon, the panacea of the proletariat (for whither shall come the necessary organization, training and discipline for the general strike without the experience gained in the daily political and economic struggle?), we have, nevertheless, learned to recognize it as a powerful weapon whose application we must learn to study and which will be more and more favorably looked upon by all Socialists.

The general strike of the Dutch railroad workers whose first, and perhaps only, act has just concluded may be considered here as a typical case. It began as a pure expression of solidarity by the strikers, but by its conclusion it had led not alone the assisted comrades, but the railroad workers themselves to a full victory, and as a result had brought to maturity another strike, that of the Amsterdam municipal workers, that in all probably will be crowned with a similar result.

For several years the Amsterdam Dock and Transport workers have had a strong economic organization. Out of numerous raw elements the principles of organization and solidarity have

been disciplined into battalions obedient to the will of the majority and their representatives. Truly battalions for from their very foundations battling has been the life of this organization. It is made up of many trades including the "Bootwerker," the warehouse workers and the people who are engaged in the handling of goods around the numerous water-ways, and warehouses, such as dock laborers, etc.

According to the decision of the international congress of transport workers held at Paris these bodies were combined into a federation. In 1903 there was another collision between these unions and the warehouse corporations, known in Dutch as the "Veemen." The strike ended with the victory of the warehouse workers, who were assured among other things that from now on they would never be compelled to work with nonunion laborers.

One of the "Veemen" did not keep this promise, but at once introduced nonunionists, which were favored in every possible way. Naturally this did not please the organized workers. It soon came to an active disagreement and one fine morning the warehouse workers of this "Veem" laid down their work and demanded the discharge of two nonunion workers. When this demand was refused the workers concerned unanimously ceased work. A freighting firm introduced fifty-six strike breakers, whereupon the representatives of the federated unions met and resolved that no union man should touch any of the goods handled by the strike breakers. These goods were declared "dead." As the fifty-six strike breakers were not discharged this blockade hung over the warehouses of all the "Veemen" who handled goods for the boycotted firms.

Meanwhile new vessels were continually coming in loaded with wares for the boycotted firms, and so the strike continued to grow.

A complication of much greater significance very soon appeared, owing to the following circumstances: One dock in Amsterdam is set apart for bulky goods, as for example Spanish iron ore, to be loaded directly from the ships into the railroad cars. At this dock hundreds of railroad workers, switchmen, machinists, etc., are engaged in the assemblage of the goods destined for Germany. The question now arose: what will these men do if they must handle cars loaded by strike breakers? To be sure this question did not concern the federated dock laborers but the union of the railroad men.

In contrast to the dock workers, whose history—at least during the last few years has been a succession of victories—the railroad workers have been able to assert themselves only under great difficulties. With the rise of the first Socialist movement the first organization of the railroad workers had also arisen, but em-

ployers and anarchistic influences split them. After a very long apathy we see them now, like the whole Socialist movement, again gaining in strength. In the first place the machinists and firemen formed a very strong organization. The conductors and other trade workers followed and joined with the former in a federation, and finally the whole movement found a new and firm center in a union of the governmental employes, which in Utrecht had developed from an almost imperceptible beginning to a powerful fighting organization.

Now, on the 29th of January, when the switchmen were ordered to handle boycotted cars, they refused service and their action was followed by the whole 500 railroad workers who were occupied on this dock, and who also laid down their work. The representatives of the unions involved met with the directors of the Holland railroad corporations, but without result, so that the same evening, in an assemblage of railroad workers in Amsterdam, the strike was decided upon by a vote of 702 to 28, because the directors had refused their demands. The same conclusion was reached on the same night by numerous assemblages in many larger and smaller cities.

The strike was declared as a purely sympathetic strike. To be sure a few demands for the betterment of their own condition were made—this was very natural—but the motive of it from the beginning to end was that of helping the threatened comrades in other branches, and on the attainment of this end they again took up their labor.

Fortunately for the extension of the strike, especially among the unorganized workers amounting to 9,000 out of 17,000 railroad workers, there was a long accumulated hatred against the railroad corporations, based upon low wages and inhumanly long hours of labor and a determination to crush out every germ of organization by general rules. The federation was led by "anti-parliamentary" Socialists, while the railroad workers was led by Social Democrats and the larger proportion of their membership were Social Democrats. Both of these otherwise bitterly fighting factions co-operated harmoniously in this case, and this co-operation brought about the grandest results.

On the day after the meeting the unions were once more approached by the employers. By that time there was a very noticeable stoppage of traffic and the employers took on a new tone. First concession: recognition of the organization from now on. This in itself was an important victory. Further: in the disputed dock nothing more shall be done, with full compensation to the strikers, until the conclusion of the strike. Finally, and this was the most important of all, employers agreed to request the govern-

ment to abolish the article of the railroad regulations which compelled the railroad employes under all conditions to accept goods for transportation. Meanwhile, the strike continued in and around Amsterdam. If the government denied the suspension then the strike would extend at one stroke over the whole country.

In the evening assemblages were again held. One may imagine what rejoicings there were. Victory was in sight. Amidst these rejoicings all the unions pledged their support, and at midnight every depot in Amsterdam was vacant. The next morning not a train came into Amsterdam. A zone was created into which no locomotive dare come. Telegrams in great numbers poured into the headquarters of the railroad workers from the railroad employes in all parts of the country pledging themselves to lay down their work at the first signal. In many places the strikes broke out spontaneously.

The great question was now what will the government do? Will they agree to the suspension of this article and grant to the laborers that the wagons filled with boycotted goods shall not be touched nor switched nor sent through to Germany? Feverish suspense reigned. The directors of the railroad, together with a committee of the workers, had gone to the Hague to consult with the ministers. Meanwhile the military was poured into Amsterdam from all directions. Disturbing news items were heard to the effect that trains were to be forced through the guarded zone. But even before the dispatches announcing this decision had been sent to the different organizations, the answer of the general directors of the railroads came: "We grant to your members the right not to switch the wares of 'Veemen' whose dock laborers are on strike and maintain all the other concessions of yesterday." Everything was won. The next day at four great assemblages of the laborers the decision was adopted to again take up work. The indisputable result of this battle was a complete victory for the dock workers. The strike breakers were sent home, all strikers were reinstated, their right not to work with strike breakers expressly recognized, and the other points in dispute submitted to a court of arbitration.

But the battle, however, was not closed even with this. The railroad workers still stood with their weapons at their sides. Everyone waited to see what the government would do. They had avoided any direct answer to the railroad corporation, declared the question to be a private affair of the railroad, and refused to interfere. But from the bourgeois standpoint such a position cannot be maintained. The bourgeois press of all political complexions shrieked for laws against the railroad workers and demanded the bringing in of the militia to serve as strike breakers.

On the other hand, the labor organization grew as never be-

fore, and the willingness for battle was greatly increased by the result of the election and by the result of the railroad strike, so that just now the thousands of municipal laborers in Amsterdam are threatening to strike. The government will soon be driven out of its passive position. But whether it will enact any oppressive legislation or attempt to legally regulate the wage contract, or whether it will seek to split the labor union of the railroad workers with the help of the unorganized laborers and the Catholic Labor unions, no one can tell as yet.

Little consolation can be derived from the fact that the government has called out the reserves for the two years past so that all the garrisons have three times their customary strength. Amsterdam especially is bristling with soldiers. The Social Democracy as a party has not yet entered into the battle—not even the Parliamentary fraction—since the Chamber has not yet met. To be sure our comrades, and especially the members of the Chamber, have everywhere been fighting in the front ranks. Now it must depend upon the attitude of the government as to what the party will do. Domela Nieuwenhuis and the Anarchists sought to make capital out of the strike, but they have scarcely been able to obtain many results. For it was just the firm, well-built organization against which they have always clamored, to which the successful result of the strike is due.

For the carrying out of such a sudden and unexpected extensive strike requires a schooling, and an organization such as is seldom to be found to-day. Now I would certainly not say that such a schooling and organization was already existing in Holland to-day.

But if the weapon of the general strike is to be utilized, then the organization must be so built up that this weapon will stand ready for instant use. For the certainty of success in a general strike lies in its suddenness. Ever more numerous and greater will become the great strikes and outbreaks of this character which shake the social life of the nation to its foundation. It is not the case of the theory forming the reality, but the reality being recognized and grasped by the theory. Most important of all, we see similar phenomena in Belgium, Sweden, France, Austria, America and Switzerland. The antagonisms grow sharper and greater. The range of single struggles between capital and labor gains in extent and the great general strikes draw into the struggle bodies of otherwise indifferent laborers.

Herman Gorter in the Neue Zeit.

Translated by A. M. Simons.

Enrico Ferri.



ALL American Socialists will be glad to learn that Comrade Enrico Ferri is making arrangements to visit this country during the next year. Whether he will come or not depends largely upon whether a lecture tour can be arranged for him. Every effort should be made to insure his appearance and the attention of French and Italian speaking Socialists should be called to this opportunity to secure the services of perhaps the foremost exponent of Socialism now living. The following sketch of his life will be of interest to those who may be assisting in the arrangements for dates of Comrade Ferri's lectures.

Enrico Ferri was born at S. Benedetto, Po. Mantova, on the 25th of February, 1856. He was a pupil at the Lycee of Mantova under the celebrated Professor Roberto Ardigò and also at the University of Bologna under the well known Professor of Criminal law, Pietro Ellero. In July, 1877, he took the diploma of Doctor of Law, and in 1878, one year later, was sent—after competition—to Contmieu, by the Italian Government, to study criminal law at the University of Pisa, residing with the chief of the classical school, Francesco Carrara.

In 1878, the same year, the publication of some works gained for him a scholarship at the expense of the Government to the University of Paris.

In 1879 at Paris he studied and illustrated his "Etudes par la Criminalite en France de 1826 a 1878," and did other work in Criminology.

In 1880 he was private docent at the University of Forino and a pupil of the celebrated Cesare Lombroso, going with him to the prisons and to the Asylums for Aliens to study criminal anthropology. In 1881 he was nominated professor at the University of Bologna, where he made the notes upon the "Nouveaux Horizons de la Justice Penale," which in the first edition consisted of 150 pages and which afterwards became his fundamental work on Criminal Sociology, the fourth edition, issued in 1901, containing 1,000 pages. This work has been translated into French, German, English and Spanish.

From 1882 to 1886 he was professor at the University of Siena. In 1886, almost before he had reached the necessary age of thirty years, he was elected deputy at Gonzaga—Mantova—and was re-elected five times, and at the last election in 1900 was elected in two districts—Ganzara and Rarennna. He was a candidate in thirty-two districts, gaining the greatest number of votes

in all Italy, of all the 508 elected deputies. From 1886 to 1893 he was a Radical Deputy on "the extreme left."

In 1893 he was chosen to represent the Socialist party at the Congress of Reggio Emilia. From 1886 to 1891 he was privat docent at the University of Rome and in 1891 was nominated professor (without examination) at the University of Pisa. He had now become the successor of the celebrated head of the Classical school of metaphysics and criminal law—Francesco Carrara—one of the founders of the classic school of anthropology and criminal sociology. But in 1896, after entering the Socialist party, the Government took away his chair at the University of Pisa and he was compelled to return as private docent to Rome, where he now is.

Since 1896 he has been a tireless worker for Socialism throughout all Italy, speaking over one hundred times each year. During the exceptional rule of Crispi he was condemned for the propaganda of Socialism to seventy-five days' imprisonment.

In 1895 he was professor of Criminal Sociology at the New University at Brussels, where he gave his series of fifteen lessons for two years. In the year 1901 he gave lectures on Criminal Sociology at the University of Amsterdam, and also on Scientific Sociology at the University of Delft, Holland.

In 1899 and 1900, when General Pellona proposed the exceptional laws which revoked the constitutional liberties—after the events of 1898—he directed the two companies of obstructionists against the exceptional laws and led to victory the three groups of the extreme left, the Radicals, the Republicans and the Socialists.

The exceptional laws were not approved of and General Pellona was defeated, after the general elections of June, 1900, which almost doubled the number of Socialist deputies—from sixteen to twenty-one—and gave a large majority to the opposition. He published his experiences during the obstructionist campaign in a volume entitled "Parliamentary Battles." On the subject of Socialism, beside many booklets, he published the work entitled "Socialism and Modern Science," 1895, which has been translated into English, French, German, Spanish, Dutch and Servian. The second edition is in preparation. He is also the editor of the review "Le Socialisme." He is also a penal advocate and earns his livelihood in this profession.

He was the first member of the Italian Parliament to be censured and was excluded from the House for eight days in December, 1901, because, in speaking of the problem of the misery in southern Italy, he lashed the Camorra, which predominates in the communes of southern Italy. Parliament, urged on by the

members of the upper house, severely censured him, but the Italian people, and, above all, the peasants of the southern districts, made a veritable plebiscite and sent him thousands of telegrams professing themselves against the censure. In Naples, Rome, and in the southern cities he received enthusiastic demonstrations of from ten to fifteen and twenty thousand citizens during the year 1902, when he went on a propaganda tour to plead at the Court of Appeal and at the Tribunals.

Some Reflections on the French Revolution.

THE appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species* marked the beginning of a great thought revolution, and history, in common with every department of knowledge, has felt its transforming and illuminating touch. History is no longer a chronicle of wars and intrigues, the story of states risen and decayed, a telescope through which the past is seen across a gulf, but it is now one window through which the present is seen and studied. The life of the race here and now stretches back beyond our gaze by an unbroken chain. The past lives in the present. We question history because we would know what sort of creature man is, whither he is traveling, and how he can best reach the next stage of his journey. We read history to little purpose if we do not discover some answer to these questions and some guidance for our present and future conduct.

For the student of present day thought and politics, the great spectacle known to us as the French Revolution is the most fascinating, astonishing and instructive chapter in the whole book. All the forces of social movement were then in play, all things were proposed and discussed, and centuries of change and development were compressed into five short years.

My purpose is not to rehearse the events of those years, nor to establish the correctness of any historical judgments; but rather to look upon the great drama that is going forward to-day and upon the drama of 1789 and ask, what is the lesson? How far were conditions then like conditions now, and wherein did France succeed in solving her problems, wherein did she grievously blunder?

The great need of the reader of history, as of the writer of history, is a vivid imagination. It is hard to go back and stand among the men of an earlier generation and realize the common humanity in them and in us. Very many see only the wonderful changes wrought by the 110 years that have intervened since the revolution in France and the differences between the Frenchman and the Yankee. They point to the tyranny and corruption of the French court and nobility, and ask, what has free republican America to do with these things? They look with pity on the poverty and misery of the despoiled and tax-burdened peasants and say, "Thank God, the world is well beyond all that." They shrink with horror from the frenzied cruelty of the mob, the smoke of the torch, and the blood of the guillotine, and wonder if this was a nation of fiends or mad men.

But after all a hundred years is a short time. We have ad-

vanced far in scientific discoveries and inventions, but in thought and feeling there is no corresponding difference. If in fancy we walk the streets of Paris and listen to the people talking in the clubs and cafes, we are astonished to find how much at home we feel. The same ideas were abroad that are the commonplaces of our thought and the same kinds of people might have been met among the makers of the Revolution that we know. To suppose that the Revolution was the work of monsters or mad men is to wholly misunderstand it.

In the years immediately preceding the Revolution the thing that stands out in the pages of history most clearly is the unhappy condition of the people. The Revolution was not caused by the discussions of the salons or the speculations of the philosophers; neither was it caused by the decay of religious influence or by hatred of the church. These influences and others played their part, but the fact back of the Revolution and back of the intellectual revolt was the misery and injustice that prevailed among the people. Voltaire looked upon the hopeless lot of his countrymen and was moved to pity and therefore uttered his passionate protests against the pride and selfishness of church and nobles. Rousseau saw the crushing hand of privilege, and, to justify the overthrow of a monstrous system, he conceived an ideal state of nature in which we were meant to live and to which we should return. It was the same with Diderot and the Encyclopedists, with Turgot and the physiocrats, and with all the leaders of the new thought. Their hearts were touched by the social and economic situation of the people and they sought some remedy for the poverty of the masses. I need only suggest some of the facts that are known to every reader.

First of all were the inequalities of taxation, between classes, between provinces and towns, and between individuals in any one class. The nobility and clergy were exempt from the *taille* or land tax, the clergy were exempt from the *vingtieme* or five per cent income tax, and the nobles and upper middle class secured countless other exemptions by favor or purchase. The indirect taxes were farmed out to corrupt speculators and the peasant with his scanty savings never escaped. The civil service was filled with a horde of plundering place-hunters, who bought their offices and in turn robbed and oppressed the people. Trade and manufactures were monopolies in the hands of guilds and corporations. The peasant was vexed and despoiled by feudal burdens and payments and by relentless game laws that allowed his crops to be ruined for the pleasure of the great. To the exactions of state, feudal lords and privileged guilds and monopolies, was added the support of a corrupt and oppressive church.

Agriculture was crude and unprofitable because all the profits

were seized by the privileged classes, and great tracts of land were abandoned. The people were driven by their necessities into the cities, where famine was slightly less frequent but where their presence created a new problem. Among the nobility, those in favor at court had great advantages over the less fortunate nobles; among the clergy the revenues went to the bishops and abbots, who lived in idleness and luxury and the mass of the clergy were left in poverty; in the army there were from one-fifth to one-third as many officers as privates, most of them useless of course and living apart from their commands, and, by the law of 1781, only nobles with at least four generations of noble blood were eligible to the rank of commissioned officer; and among the middle class the more able and fortunate bought exemptions and privileges that separated them from their fellows. The censorship and the criminal and civil law were enforced capriciously and by favor. In towns and cities from one-fifth to three-fourths of the people lived on alms, hundreds and thousands died of starvation, and want and misery produced crime, beggary and unthinking rebellion.

The opening words of Rousseau's Social Contract are, "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains," and the Abbe Sieyes sums up the situation thus, "It is too true that you are nothing in France if you have only the protection of the common law. Without some privilege or other you must make up your mind to suffer contempt, contumely and all sorts of vexations. The unfortunate person who has no privilege of his own can only attach himself to some great man by all sorts of meanness and thus get the chance on occasion to demand the assistance of somebody."

These words not only describe the situation in France in 1789 but they describe equally well the situation in America to-day. It is folly to blind ourselves to facts and raise the cry calamity howler. What is the economic condition of the people and how does the other half live? There are many good men who will tell you that any man can be prosperous and happy in this country if he will only be honest, industrious and sober. Their advice to the poor is to stop talking about injustice, to be good, and above all be quiet and the full dinner pail shall be theirs. This sounds like the cynical advice of a despoiling taskmaster seeking to obtain security for his spoils, but that opinion would be very unjust in many cases. Too often it is the advice of people who are good and kind, but who are profoundly ignorant of the lives of the great majority. No man can come into close contact with the great masses of men or observe carefully the lives of the middle and upper classes without being conscious of controlling privileges and inequalities of opportunity.

In taxation inequality and injustice prevail to an extent that

cannot be realized save by a close study of the subject; inequality between classes, between localities and between individuals in any class. Of direct taxes the houses and farms of the poor and middle classes are assessed at nearly their full value, while the real property of great corporations and persons of influence is assessed at a small fraction of its value, and it is well within the truth to say that nine-tenths of the personal property of the rich, which constitutes such a large part of the wealth of the country, is not taxed at all. As to indirect taxes, which sustain the entire national expenditure, it is obvious that a man with \$100,000 may use twice, five times, or even ten times as much sugar or tobacco as a man with \$1,000, but that he can't possibly use a hundred times as much; much less can a man worth \$100,000,000 use 100,000 times as much, as he would have to do if he paid taxes in the same proportion. We submit to it only because we do not see the tax in the price of the goods. That the public treasury is plundered every day in useless salaries and inflated contracts is well known and only occasionally is a protest heard. We turn to the farmer and see that the profits of agriculture are seized by railroads and speculators, that farms are decreasing in value and the people are moving into the cities. We look at the merchant and see the small merchant being crowded out, and taking his place as a clerk in the great department store. We turn to the manufacturer and, with a few exceptions that are daily disappearing, we find the business in the hands of trusts and monopolies that are ever widening their control and tightening their grasp. In transportation and communication monopoly has long been established. In the professions the same concentration and destruction of independence and opportunity is testified to by all those in a position to know. Great fortunes are being piled up beyond the dreams of the imagination in the hands of the privileged few, small fortunes are being lost and small employers are becoming employes, and it is to-day a most serious problem to make any productive business a success without the advantages of wealth or some other special advantage or privilege. At the bottom thousands are being crowded into the ranks of the destitute in the midst of a land of plenty. Our production is so great that we must seek foreign markets, and yet uncounted multitudes here are hungry and cold because they can not buy. The situation suggested by mentioning the hordes of wretched dwellers in city tenements, and the armies of the unemployed that periodically surge through our cities, is only appreciated by those who acquaint themselves with how the other half lives. The facts are so painful that we would gladly be left in ignorance and allowed to think that prosperity and plenty fill the land.

Well may we repeat the words of Sieyes, "Without some privi-

lege or other you must make up your mind to suffer contempt, contumely and all sorts of vexations." Our theoretical conception that every man is free and unrestrained, that he finds his right place in life and gets all he earns or deserves, is a foolish dream that is dissipated by a little observation and reflection. It is becoming more clear that a large proportion of the people around us enter life under conditions that absolutely preclude any real chance of success. In spite of political liberty and the free play of economic forces, most people are not free, for freedom consists not so much in the absence of restrictions as in the presence of opportunity. The hard fact is that under modern changed forms the lead hand of feudalism still lies heavy on the people. "The rights of the poor, the inequality of wealth, the equalization of burdens, the abolition of privileges, the possibility of securing to all men a more equal start in life—these are questions that perplex the statesman and moralist in every modern community," and they are the same questions that the Revolution sought to answer.

This much at least seems clear, that the outlook at the dawn of the new century is profoundly interesting, that the times are pregnant with great changes, that great social and moral forces are at work, that a feeling of unrest and uncertainty and questioning is abroad everywhere, and that the problems that are unfolding themselves before our eyes surpass in magnitude and importance any that civilization has been called upon to solve.

However, I hear you say that I have given only half the picture, and that the darker half—that everywhere conditions are growing better and progress is plainly seen, that the poor are not growing poorer but are better off than ever before; and you point to the increased wages earned by the workingman, to the cheapened cost of many articles he uses, to the increased comfort of his home and to widened educational facilities. I very gladly admit all this as applied to large classes of workers, although not to all. There are two sides to the situation, and encouraging facts are readily found by all who look for them. I think it is probably true that on the whole the poor are not poorer but rather less poor than formerly. I confess that I am unable to see that the case is entirely disposed of when I am shown that the returns of the worker have been multiplied by two or three, through the marvelous inventions and achievements of science in the last century, while the returns of his employer have been multiplied by a hundred. However, leaving aside that point, it may be observed that the same conditions existed in France at the time of the Revolution. There were two sides to the situation in France, also.

It is a serious error to suppose that the lot of the French people became progressively worse until they could endure it no

longer, and rose up and shook themselves free. In spite of the hopes of certain groups of Socialists, it is safe to say that revolutions do not come about in that way. The condition of the people of France fifty or seventy-five years before the revolution was far worse than at the time of the outbreak. There is a quotation from La Bruyere that is often seen in this connection. He says:

Certain savage-looking beings, male and female, are seen in the country, black, livid and sunburnt and belonging to the soil which they dig and grub with invincible stubbornness. They seem capable of articulation, and when they stand erect they display human lineaments. They are, in fact, men. They retire at night into their dens where they live on black bread, water and roots. They spare other human beings the trouble of sowing, ploughing and harvesting, and they should not be in want of the bread they have planted." Some writers have considered this overdrawn and exaggerated, so black is the picture, and it would be if meant to describe the average peasant just prior to the revolution, but the above was written in 1689, just one hundred years before, and for that period and up to the death of Louis XV. the picture is accurate. Taine estimates that in the year 1715 more than one-third of the population, or 6,000,000 persons, died of starvation or destitution. D'Argenson wrote in his journal in 1739 that in his canton of Touraine men had been living on herbage for more than a year. The Bishop of Chartres said to the king, in reply to a question, that his people ate grass like sheep and died like flies. In the cities poverty was usually less extreme than in the country, and yet in a single quarter of Paris, the Faubourg St. Antoine, and in a single month, 800 persons died of starvation in the year 1751. Widespread starvation was common and bread riots were of frequent occurrence, but at that time they were always sternly suppressed and the participants drawn and quartered, as a reminder that they must die decently and quietly and without disturbing ladies and gentlemen. If it were true that people rise in revolt when their lot becomes unendurable, then the Revolution ought to have occurred seventy-five years earlier than it did. The fact is that many reforms were effected under Louis XVI. and the general prosperity was vastly increased before the storm broke.

From the beginning of this reign the wealth of the country and the comfort of the people gradually increased. The population grew from sixteen to twenty-six millions, and the era of modern capitalistic production may be said to have begun about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was possible for the able and ambitious to rise in the world, and it was not uncommon for the upper bourgeoisie to acquire noble rank. Complaint was made that the wives of tradesmen aped the dress and manners of the

grandes dames so that it was hard to distinguish them. Some men made great fortunes in trade and speculation, the farmer general being the prototype of our kings of Wall street. He was simply the owner of valuable franchises. One writer says that the workman's chance of rising in his trade was better than now, the capital required being small, and some of the peasants by strict economy and industry were able to save enough to acquire a small body of land, so that one-fifth of the soil was held by peasant proprietors. Wall paper and paint came into use and simple artisans lived more comfortably than the first citizens of the town fifty years before. Many people of the middle class owned little villas in the suburbs and enjoyed intellectual pleasures and material luxuries. Paris was a great commercial and manufacturing city of about 800,000 people and was rapidly growing. Education was more general than formerly, there being 502 secondary schools in 1789. It must not be forgotten that many reform measures were carried, in spite of opposition, by Louis' reform ministers. Executions for religious opinions had been abolished and the criminal law reformed. Torture to compel confessions was abolished in 1780 and torture to discover accomplices in 1788. Turgot succeeded in doing away with guilds and the *corvée* or forced labor, restrictions on trade and labor were loosened, tax reforms were accomplished, many ornamental offices were discontinued, and food was made cheaper. In general it may be said that, with the exception of Holland and Tuscany, and possibly Prussia under Frederick the Great, France was better off materially and intellectually than the rest of the Continent. Paris was the center of the intellectual and fashionable life of Europe.

Again I hear you say that our present situation is most encouraging, because of the spirit of philanthropy abroad, the general interest manifested in the welfare of the people, and the numerous agencies that are at work for the uplifting of men. You point to the great literature of reform, to our chairs of sociology in colleges, our clubs and social settlements, the great contributions made by wealth to educational and benevolent institutions, and a hundred like facts. I gladly admit the truth of all this, but ask was not France equally to be congratulated? The awakening of a zeal for humanity was the characteristic fact of the eighteenth century. Literature and philosophy were permeated by the new spirit, it was seen in the theater and talked in the cafes and discussed with great interest in the salons. It brought forth a deluge of pamphlets, and reformers of all sorts were astir. It was a time of hope and belief in the perfectibility of man.

A revolution in America seems quite impossible. Men feel the spirit of unrest and are perplexed and uncertain as to the outcome, they feel that reforms of some sort are quite likely, but revolution

is not dreamed of. It was the same in France. All classes were interested, and some were alive to the fact that the old order was passing away, but no one anticipated revolution. When the mob pressed around the palace at Versailles on the fateful 6th of October, Louis turned to a minister and exclaimed in surprise, "Why, this is a revolt." "No, sire, this is a *révolution*." The people even then did not wish to overthrow the king or the old order. They believed in the king at this time and hoped that he would give them justice as they believed he desired to do. The Revolution was a surprise to all.

In fact, so far from the Revolution being prevented by reforms, by the comparative prosperity and intelligence of the people, it was exactly this comparatively advanced condition that produced the Revolution. It was this which caused the Revolution to break out in France rather than elsewhere, and in the reign of Louis XVI. rather than under Louis XV. It was this that made the people conscious of their wrongs and their possibilities, and that roused them from dull, hopeless submission to the revolt of self-conscious freemen.

What, then, may we look forward to in America? That this marvelous and rapidly increasing concentration of wealth is bringing about some great result, must be clear to all. Will the trusts increase and absorb all business and the people be reduced to the condition of industrial slaves under an aristocracy of wealth? That the American people would permanently submit to this no one believes. Will the money kings and lords of industry, then, be transformed into benevolent despots, listening to the voice of public opinion, and, with all the power in their hands, carry on the nation's business for the benefit of the people? That such power should be unselfishly used after being so selfishly grasped there is no reason to expect. Will the tide turn, then, and the great combinations be broken up and business restored to the old condition of small individual enterprises? That would be a step backward in industrial evolution, and every day makes it more certain that no such backward step is possible. Will the people becoming more and more conscious of their strength and wrongs at last rise up and overthrow the system?

From our survey of the past we may conclude that a great change was inevitable in France at that time—the accomplishment of political freedom, the birth of democracy; that nothing could have stopped that change because it was then the next step in social evolution. From our survey of the present we may conclude that a great change is inevitable now, the accomplishment of industrial and economic freedom, the "raising of the masses into the rivalry of life on terms of equality of opportunity." The goal, let it be observed, is not equality of rank or wealth or the rewards

of service, but equality of opportunity ; a social organization where none shall be rich enough to buy another, and none so poor as to be forced to sell himself to another. It is not right that all should win the same reward and honor, but it is right that all should get into the game.

So far we have traced a close parallel between the past and the present, but there is a fundamental difference. In France the change included a crisis that was attended by violence. That the change in this country will include such a crisis is not inherently impossible, but is extremely improbable. In France resistance to the march of the people was stubborn. With notable exceptions the privileged classes and the king stood against the people like a rock in the midst of a swelling stream. They went so far that they even forgot and disregarded the sentiment of patriotism, the strongest passion of a Frenchman, and called in foreign foes to fight against the people. That drove the struggling sansculottes to desperation ; they were about to be overwhelmed by foes within and foes without, and they became willing to be led by Robespierre and the other fanatics who proposed extreme measures, and thus the Terror was born. Had Louis had the wisdom and courage to side with his people when the States General met or even after the great festival in the Champ de Mars, his life and the blood of the nation would have been spared. The Terror is no legitimate part of the French Revolution ; it belongs to the counter-revolution. The same change to democracy took place in England without violence because the privileged classes gradually and steadily gave way and the people came to rely upon their giving way.

In this country there are two things that make a violent crisis most improbable. The people are now possessed of the fruits of the Revolution and of the succeeding years. Some of those fruits are political liberty, the triumph of democracy, the multiplication of wealth, the universal extension of education, and practical experience in co-operation ; but more important than all these things is the disintegrating influence of the spirit of altruism, which is undermining the power-holding classes. A few of the most generous minds are already won over by their sense of justice, and those who remain are unable to escape the same subtle compelling influence. The holders of special privileges no longer believe strongly in their own cause, they lack the aggressive power of a great conviction, and are unable to use their great strength. They no longer openly defend the old order even, but tacitly admit that it has outlived its usefulness. They are driven to argue that there is exaggeration, that things are not quite so bad as represented, and, as a last resource, they can only argue that the remedy proposed is not effectual and that the evil is probably irremediable. The only objections urged to Socialistic reforms are the practical

difficulties involved. As a question of abstract justice they are unassailable. The victories of the people are not won in the streets but in the hearts of the higher classes. This was true to a large extent even in France. Some of the nobility openly sided with the people and the spirit of altruism sapped the strength of all the privileged classes, but particularly do we see the cause of the submerged majority sustained by the middle class. Not a single man of the laboring class rose to leadership in the Revolution, and the long list of beneficent measures in the interest of the masses, passed by the Jacobin Convention in the midst of a life and death struggle, was the work of the bourgeoisie.

What, then, is the lesson of the French Revolution? The Socialist, or representative of the masses, by whatever name called, may learn the folly of sudden change. He may perceive that destruction requires but a night, but that constructive work requires time; that if one vast system of social organization is to be supplanted by another, the change must be by the slow processes of nature, the gradual accumulation of changes, and that the answer to sudden and violent destruction is the mighty name Napoleon. The Revolution was in reality a glorious success, but at what cost and with what reactions and delays, the evil influences of which are felt to this day. "No greater calamity can befall a nation than for her to cut herself off from all vital connection with her own past."

He may learn that the hope, entertained by some, that when things get sufficiently bad the people will right them is deceptive, revolutions being brought about on a rising current of positive activities; and that his scorn of half-way measures and partial reforms is most irrational. These should be welcomed as representing principles implanted that will ultimately grow into mighty forces. They are the steady yielding of the property-holding classes before the steady advance of the people. It has been the misfortune of the French that they have insisted on logical completeness and have counted nothing gained until the last term of the syllogism was realized, and it has been the good fortune of the Anglo-Saxon to seize the opportunity, implant the seed and leave its development to the future.

He may learn further that his cause will not be won by a death struggle between classes, but by a softening and deepening of character in those who belong naturally to the other side, and who will turn to help their fellows; that the struggle is not between the Haves and Have-nots, but between the selfish Haves on the one side and the Have-nots and unselfish Haves on the other.

The rich and favored may learn the utter futility of resistance and that wisdom and honor lie in yielding, not because retreat is inevitable but because the progress of mankind points that way.

Every consideration enjoins the duty and wisdom of finding out the course of evolution and getting in line with it. If there is any conclusion to be drawn from the pages of history we may be sure of this, that through the ages the children of men have been slowly and painfully but steadily realizing their freedom, and that the future belongs to the people. It is necessary to disabuse our minds of the prevalent notion that the doctrines of Socialism are the heated imaginings of unbalanced minds. They represent a moral force of the most profound significance, and whatever individual errors may be found among them, they are the sober teachings of earnest and scholarly men. The Socialist movement is the most characteristic movement of our time and nothing is more remarkable than the uncertainty, bewilderment and hesitation with which it is regarded.

It matters not that many and conflicting schemes for another order of society are proposed, that with one reformer a flaw may be found in his theory of economics, that with another his moral code may be justly liable to criticism or his theology open to attack. It matters not that with every one the imagination has failed to picture all the difficulties and human ingenuity has failed to surmount them all. These things merely prove the wisdom of the divine method of slow and painfully won evolution rather than off-hand construction. These things belong to the future.

The great thing and the thing that belongs to the present is to realize that "the commonwealth of mankind is a holy object and that to labor for its welfare is the only true and worthy life;" not for the welfare of the good and industrious, nor the welfare of our class, of our church, or our nation, but for the welfare of all men. We are not called on to outline a social order and prove that it will work; we are called on to desire earnestly that all men may be lifted into the rivalry of existence, and have an equal chance at life with all other men and to do what lies within us to that end.

Happy the man who, having genius and power, feels his kinship with his fellows and devotes himself to the cause of the people. Such men are the truly great. Verily he who would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all.

Clarence Arthur Royse.

The Belgian Municipal Committee.



HE municipal program was adopted in the first years of our party by a national congress of all organizations. But until 1895 we had a very little municipal activity. After the elections of 1895 we had about 800 municipal councillors elected as Socialists, out of which 550 to 600 remained real Socialists. At the elections of 1899 this last number became 650, with some 150 elected as Socialists. Among the councillors the great majority were workmen who had no idea of what is the law or what are municipal affairs. The obligation to do better than the old parties, to survey all things, to suppress the abuses, needs as exact knowledge of the law as of the rules. There was a great danger in doing wrong steps.

All these elements created the necessity of having a Federation, and especially of having a permanent secretary who could give to our members all the necessary legal advice.

At that moment it was said that the secretary would have as annual resources 4,000 francs, out of which 2,000 francs was for himself. Each member should pay one franc annually and the rest should be obtained by subsidies of organizations. That remained mere theory. About 550 members paid one franc and the subsidies varied annually from 500 to 600 francs. Since 1899 the Federation had a monthly paper called "Bulletin Communal," and published as a part of the Review of the party "Avenir Social." The "Bulletin Communal" contains sixteen pages. From that time the members have to pay three francs annually. From the first of January, 1903, the "Bulletin Communal" will be printed separate from "L'Avenir Social," although it will be given to the subscribers of the "Avenir Social," as a part of it.

Thus the members of the Federation will for three francs have the right to ask for legal advice and information about municipal affairs, and receive the "Bulletin Communal." The number of advices given is about 400 a year, and they are given by letter.

Each year the Federation has a national congress in Brussels, where some points of municipal politics are discussed. The national congress of the whole party held last year has decided that the affiliation of Socialist councillors would be compulsory, and that the organization would be responsible for their councillors and for the payment of membership. That decision was practically necessary because at the end of 1903 we have our municipal elections, and because the party is no more willing to have 150 to 200 men elected as Socialists who are not Socialists. I dare say that this year the elections will be well controlled.

We will try also to develop our Bulletin by having correspondents in the different part of Belgium to give us information about the municipal activity.

From 1899 to 1903 the committee was composed of five members, all of Brussels and suburbs. Practically the secretary only had something to do.

The last congress (November, 1902) elected a national committee of 200 members taken in the various parts of the country. The first meeting of this council will be held in the month of January. The council will have now to stimulate more and more the activity of our councillors, and that is very often necessary.

Emile Vinck.

The Forges of the Nations.



N the forges of the nations how the furnaces still glow!
Are they beating into ploughshares all their swords of
battle? No!

They are welding stronger fetters for the bleeding feet of
Man

Who has trampled out their vintage till the purple juices ran.

Cling! Clang! Cling! do you hear the anvils ringing?

Cling! Clang! Cling! is there music in their singing,

When the sparks that upward fly

Are the souls of men who die

For the cause they make heroic and the land they glorify?

They have sealed Man's eyes with darkness. Have they blinded
him for good?

They have mocked him as they crowned him with the crown, of
Brotherhood.

They have rent his garments from him, they have spat upon his
face;

Given him a reed for scepter till the cross was in its place.

Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! do you hear the armies coming?

St—St—St—do you hear the bullets humming?

Blood of man must quench the thirst

Of the lips of Death the first

Ere it trickles to the rulers where they sit enthroned, accursed!

See the bloodhounds of the ocean, how they follow on the trail

Till the seas of sunset redden and the stars of midnight fail!

On the prow the spectral helmsman turns the wheel from left to
right;

Twenty thousand years of carnage have not sated his delight.

Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! do you hear the engines throbbing?

Hush! Hush! Hush! do you hear the billows sobbing?

What is fitter for the brave

Than a couch beneath the wave

When they give their lives in battle for a land they cannot save?

O the day is coming, coming! Man shall reap what he has sown.

Then no Power on earth shall bind him, nor yet turn his bread to
stone!

But a little, O my Brothers, but a little must ye wait ;
Even now I hear a whisper and a knocking at the gate !

Rise ! Rise ! Rise ! O ye men who live to labor.
Up ! Up ! Up ! go and sing it to your neighbor.

Though you're bloodied by the goad,
Though you're burdened with a load,

O prepare, prepare to follow ! God Himself is on the road !

Lorenzo Sosso.

The Proletaire and the Trusts.




HE Trusts, omnipotent on Trade's proud Mart,
Stood chains in hand, and Bourgeoisie, heart dead,
Brain dark, bowed servile, low, and thralldom swore.
But Proletaire stood head tense, high ; struck chains
To ground ; bold flung fierce, far their battle line—
Until the haughty Tyrants quaked. And then
Advancing fast past boycott, picket, strike,
They sent their Statesmen bold to Hall of State ;
And there on Freeman's glorious Battle Ground
They smote their fell usurped power death blow ;
They made them wondrous Servants of Mankind.

Frederick Irons Bamford.

Oakland, Calif., January 29, '03.

The Social Effects of the Eight-Hour Day.

HE above is the title of an address delivered by Prof. McVey, of the University of Minnesota, at the Employers and Employées' Conference, held in Minneapolis in September, 1902. The address was afterwards published in the January number of the American Journal of Sociology.

The address was, in my opinion, the ablest delivered at that conference. Professor McVey is an ardent student, a thinker of more than average ability, and well versed in the theory of political science as taught at present *ex cathedra*.

In summing up the economic effects of the eight-hour day, Professor McVey arrives at the same conclusions as the Socialists do. He concludes his address thus: "The economic value of this change is yet to be appreciated, but there can be no doubt of its great productive power when applied to industry. Under its influence the old rate of daily production will be maintained, with little or no effect in the long run upon wages, profits, the unemployed, and foreign commerce." In other words, it will not solve the question of "the industrial reserve army" and will materially affect neither wages nor profits. The address is interesting to the Socialist from the point of view of its fallacious economic teachings.

The economics propounded by Professor McVey is what I propose to criticize and bring out the difference between the Marxian School of Political Economy and the "School of Vulgar Economy," as Marx called it. I do not mean by it that any adherent of that school is a vulgar person, but that the economic teachings of that school are vulgar and not scientific. The economics which are correctly stated by the professor are Marxian and what is not Marxian there is false.

Now to the body of the address.

"The introduction of machinery," we read in the address, "at the close of the last century, with the attendant *high cost of capital*,* forced longer hours of labor than existed under the old domestic system." The expression "high cost of capital" is rather vague and I construe it to mean either that the hours of labor were prolonged because the rate of interest on capital invested was high, or he may, possibly, mean by it that a larger outlay of constant capital (means of production, raw material, auxiliaries, etc.), is required per individual laborer under production of machinery, consequently more must go as interest to capital from

*The Italics are mine.

each laborer than under the domestic system. If the professor meant the former, then the question arises, why were the hours of labor shorter, in England at least, during the last three centuries preceding the latter part of the 18th century, as shown by Thorold Rogers when interest on money was very high? If by "high cost of capital" he means the second category, why then, may we ask, are the hours of labor shorter now in spite of the constant increase of the quantity of constant capital required to employ a given quantity of laborers, in consequence of the constant progress in the technique of production? The Marxian explanation is much simpler, and yet withstands better the criticisms, namely: Simultaneously and preceding the introduction of the factory system the great mass of the population in England, the mother country of industrial capital, was driven off the land and thus deprived of the means of self employment. Being helpless and disorganized, with no political power, with the state and the courts against them, and with draconian measures on the statute books since the reign of Henry VIII., against any combination of labor, capital set as the work day's limit—the laborer's physical endurance.

Coming to the source of wages the professor comes to the right conclusion that it is "thus ultimately paid out of the product," but his economic theory which leads up to that conclusion is to a Marxist, to say the least, amusing. "Undoubtedly," says McVey, "the rate of wages does depend upon the demand for labor, but in turn the demand for labor rests upon the aggregate capital of the community, which is determined by the gross product and the demand for commodities, while the gross production is governed by the productivity of labor." Now the "rate of wages" does not depend "upon the demand for labor," for the rate, it is the proportion of the product that goes to labor is constantly diminishing; we may say that in general the greater the productivity the smaller the rate of wages, while the price of the money sum of wages irrespective of its ratio to the total value of the product does depend to some extent on the demand, but not entirely, for the price of labor power like that of any other commodity, is subject to the same laws governing prices of commodities in general, namely, the price of production or the natural price of Ricardo, which is, supply and demand being equal or eliminated, the expense or cost of production plus the general average rate of profit; in other words, the price of labor power is, generally speaking, the cost of its maintenance. The aggregate capital may be very large, but when there are no profits in view, no "demands for commodities, the gross production will be small, irrespective of the great mass of labor power looking for employment and irrespective of the productivity and intensity of labor.

Professor McVey says—* * * “in no sense does increase of wages rest solely upon the cost of subsistence. Increase of wages, as well as reduction of hours, is limited by the producing power of labor.” If by “increase of wages” he means an increased amount, an increased ratio of the constantly increasing product, he is greatly in error. The statistics of the last and former census prove that the ratio of wages to the total value of the product is constantly diminishing; but if he only meant increase in dollars and cents, then he is only *partially* correct, for it depends more upon the economic organization of the workers—the pure and simple trade-union—than upon “the producing power of labor.” The eight-hour day in coal mines in England and the higher wages paid to bituminous coal miners in the United States, sufficiently substantiates my contention.

“The phenomenon of non-employment,” says Professor McVey, “is due in a large measure to sickness, shiftlessness of individual laborers, and the fluctuations of commercial credit, resulting in the closing of mills and the discharge of workers.” But, pray, why not tell us of the main economic cause which in the last instance is mostly responsible for “the fluctuations of commercial credit,” namely, over-production, or, as some call it, under-consumption, which is the result of production for profits; in other words, is the natural sequence of the wage system.

Professor McVey is of the opinion that the eight-hour day will not solve the problem of the unemployed and is on this point in accord with the Marxists. “In Victoria,” he tells us, “the unemployed are still evident in great numbers. The organization of the ‘New Unionism’ in this Australian State is proof of the inability of the eight-hour day to absorb those out of work. * * *

It may be boldly stated that no provision such as the one under discussion is able to solve the difficulties which have their root in the whole economic basis of industry.”

As the professor bases wages upon the productivity of labor only, which I have already criticized above, he, very properly, puts the question, ‘how far an eight-hour day is likely to impair production and in consequence diminish the quantity of wealth produced.’ You will observe here that McVey as an economist is simply interested that the total output of products be not diminished; he does not concern himself here with the problem of “distribution” of the wealth produced. He comes to the conclusion as reached by Marx that by reducing the hours of labor you can increase the intensity of labor power. To use Marxian terms, the rule may be thus stated. Within certain bounds, what the capitalist may lose in absolute surplus value by shortening the labor-day, he gains in relative surplus value by increased intensity of the

labor-process. Of course this leaves exploitation of labor as it was before, but as already stated the author discusses the subject from the standpoint of a scientist, not that of a labor agitator.

Speaking of the results of an eight-hour day, McVey arrives at the conclusion that, "Nevertheless, the eight-hour day must cost somebody something in loss of profit, greater exertion in a shorter period of time, or smaller wages, * * * the loss will fall upon interest, since the wages of superintendence and insurance against risk cannot be affected."

Professor McVey is an adherent of the modern school of political economy, which teaches that there are no profits, that the capitalist only receives interest on the capital invested, and "wages of superintendence," plus insurance against risk, but by all means no profits. His natural sagacity tells him that the practical world around him still clings to the old, antiquated and unscientific (?) term "profits." It is on account of this difficulty that the professor sometimes mentions "profits" and omits the term at other times in this same address.

Marx teaches in Vol. III. of Capital that actual wages of superintendence, i. e., adequate pay for actual and required superintendence, as well as insurance against risk and depreciation of capital must be counted in the expense of circulation of capital, the balance is gross profits from which interest is deducted. We do this in practice in all enterprises, except in gigantic corporations which inflate their stock to absorb part of profits as interest and overburden some dignitaries with from \$25,000 to \$1,000,000 a year as "wages of superintendence," when the actual work is done by a subordinate whose salary seldom exceeds 20 per cent of that of the nominal "president" or "head man." The rate of interest is sometimes high when profits are small, such as during a financial panic, but in general the rate of interest is more stable than the rate of profit.

Professor McVey sees danger in trade-unions cutting down the average rate of work, in other words, limiting the excessive intensity of the labor process, for this will produce a smaller output and in the end less wages. This, professor, may be so, and may not be so, it will depend on the relative strength of the capitalist class upon the one side and of the proletariat upon the other, though it must be admitted that should that happen nowadays, the economic organization of the workers is unable in itself to withstand an onslaught on wages and their standard of living would necessarily become lowered. Professor McVey throws out a gentle hint to the capitalist class that is well worth reproducing here. "The eight-hour day," says he, "is a reasonable request, that from the point of view of selfish interest, employers would do

well to grant it. Give labor a generation or more in the organization of the workers, and great changes will be wrought that will produce marked results in the ownership, direction and management of industry. Reasonable requests granted now will make the transition less difficult and severe."

I have discussed the address here mainly for two reasons. First, to show the fallacious reasoning on economic subjects by able bourgeois economists. Second; to prove to non-Socialists that a fair and unbiased bourgeois economist must concede that there are "difficulties which have their root in the whole economic basis of industry," and that in the long run the eight-hour day, if adopted, will have hardly any effect upon wages, profits, the unemployed and foreign commerce.

A. Hirschfield, M. D.

Minneapolis, Minn.

To Socialism.



EVILED defender and upholder of the rights of Man;
Unfaltering asserter of the Brotherhood of Man;
Unflinching facer of those future years so filled with
frowns of free-born men no longer free who
love thee not—

Endue me with thy poise.

Provider of perpetual peace that stills pale, haggard Competi-
tion's call to war;

Sole selfless Savior of the race from all-enslaving Greed;

Unconscious Christian crying Christ's commands aloud, still nailed
upon the cross as He—

Endue me with thy peace.

Impartial pupil of imperial Right that places plenty in the hands
of each;

Stern slayer of the sullen soul will not surrender stolen, selfish
joys;

All-patient lover of the poor, still paid with penal name by portion-
less participants of pauper's lot and fare—

Grant me to love as thou.

Forecaster of a future filled with faithful work performed with
joy by all;

Denouncer of these dotage-days that doom and damn both rich
and poor;

Courageous, calm, Compatriot calling "Come" to rich and poor
alike—

Grant me to echo "Come."

Aspiring, some would strike all chains from willing and unwilling
slaves.

Aspiring to thy poise, thy peace, thy love unbounded free and all
despite of hate, they call—to even echo it—one heard
thee say,

"Let be!

I am the solvent sets all free:

Bring them to me."

Aspiring sends this song from one whose bondage was dissolved
by thy embrace, in gratitude this day.

() Thou incessant and unstinting Sower of the lift-bought seed
with wide-flung hand in ev'ry clime,

God speed, God speed—and SPEED!

Edwin Arnold Brenholtz.

NEW AND STANDARD

Books on Socialism

Handsomely Bound in Cloth ... Fifty Cents Each

God's Children.—By JAMES ALLMAN. A Modern Allegory. One of the greatest satires on capitalist society ever written.

Britain for the British (America for the Americans.)—By ROBERT BLATCHFORD, author of "Merrie England." 200,000 already sold.

The Communist Manifesto.—By KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS. Ours is the handsomest edition ever printed of this classic of Socialism.

The Principles of Social Progress: A Study of Civilization.—By JAMES BALE MORMAN, A. B. Extra cloth, 240 large pages.

Letters from New America, or An Attempt at Practical Socialism. By CLARK EDMUND PERSINGER.

STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES

1. **Karl Marx.** Biographical Memoirs.—By WILHELM LIEBKNECHT. Translated by Ernest Untermann.
2. **Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.**—By EMILE VANDERVELDE. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.
3. **The American Farmer.**—By A. M. SIMONS.
4. **The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association.**—By ISAAC BROOME.
5. **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.**—By FREDERICK ENGELS. Translated by Ernest Untermann.
6. **The Social Revolution.**—By KARL KAUTSKY. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons.
7. **Socialism Utopian and Scientific.**—By FREDERICK ENGELS. Translated by Edward Aveling, D. Sc.
8. **Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy.**—By FREDERICK ENGELS. Translated by Austin Lewis.

The *International Socialist Review*, edited by A. M. Simons, is the one indispensable periodical for whoever wishes to understand socialism. Monthly, 64 pages, 10 cents a copy, \$1.00 a year. We will send the *Review* one year to a new name, and will mail any two of the books described above for one dollar, if this advertisement is mentioned.

Charles H. Kerr & Company, (Co-operative), 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago

Ruskin University.

A combination of eleven hitherto independent colleges offers instruction in technical, literary, and scientific branches. Located at Glen Ellyn, Ill., 33 minutes' ride from Chicago; 2,500 resident students, 8,000 correspondence students, and 250 teachers.

CORRESPONDENCE DEPARTMENT IN SOCIOLOGY.

The work in this department is modeled on the correspondence work of the best universities and the standard of scholarship will be maintained as high as that in any educational institution in the country. The following courses are now ready, and others are in preparation.

1. AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY—By A. M. Simons.

Economic Conditions Leading to the Discovery of America; Colonial Economic Development; Economic Causes of the Revolution; Class Struggle on the Adoption of the Constitution; the Frontier Movement; Struggle Between Northern Capitalists and Southern Chattel Slave Owners; Growth of Capitalism, Trusts and a Class Conscious Working Class.

POLITICAL ECONOMY—By May Wood Simons.

The Wealth Concept; Stages of Economic Development; Factors in Production; Theories of Rent, Wages, Interest and Profit. The Classical and Modern Writers on Political Economy are studied historically, comparatively and critically and the evolution of Economic ideas are traced through their various stages up to the present time.

SOCIALISM—By May Wood Simons.

A careful comparative study of the Utopians and other forerunners of modern scientific Socialism, followed by an exposition of Marxian economics, the Economic Interpretation of History, the Class Struggle and the development of Capitalism preparatory to Socialism. There is a series of Lectures on the relation of Socialism to the State, Education, Organized Labor, Science, Ethics and Art, closing with an historical survey of the modern Socialist Movement.

Regular lessons have been prepared in these courses, but these will be varied with special lessons and additional references on any desired phase of the subjects treated. Each student will be treated individually and the work especially adapted to his needs and capabilities. The minimum number of lessons in each course is twenty and the fee for each course is ten dollars. Each correspondence course is credited as equal to three months resident work at the university.

Resident Courses, preparatory, collegiate and industrial, may be pursued at Glen Ellyn at a total cost of \$150 per year, \$100 of which it is possible for the student to earn in the industrial department while pursuing his studies and without increasing the length of time necessary for a course.

For further information address

HEADQUARTERS RUSKIN UNIVERSITY, 103-109 Randolph St., Chicago.

EDITORIAL

The United Mine Workers' Victory.

At last the long delay and deliberation are over and the arbitration committee has brought forth its report, and the capitalist press unanimously hail it as a victory for the miners.

The main point on which this cry for victory is based is in the 10 per cent rise, in the reduction to eight hours for a few favored laborers, the right to have check weighmen and a few similar articles. That this is a gain no one will deny, that it is in many senses of the word a victory is also true, but the further conclusion which practically every one of these papers draw, that the victory was attained through the methods of arbitration, we are unable to see.

Some months ago when the arbitration committee was first elected we pointed out that the miners would receive just what the proletariat has always received in a contest with its masters,—what it was able to take. There is, at least, some doubt if in this case the United Miners have not received even less than they could have taken had the fight gone on. We now know that there was nearly a million dollars still remaining in their treasury with funds pouring in from all over the world. We now know that a few weeks more of the strike would have brought on a coal famine that would have paralyzed the industries of this country. The great capitalists probably knew this at the time the arbitration committee was appointed. They must have known something of the probable effect of such a coal famine on the permanency of exploiting institutions. It is pretty safe to say that in view of this knowledge they would have been willing to have conceded the full demands originally made by the strikers rather than to have permitted the strike to have gone on to much greater length.

Every day that passed during the closing weeks of the struggle gathered new converts for the miners' cause. At the same time the Socialists were using the material which was developing from day to day with tremendous force as an indictment against the entire system of capitalism. Under these conditions it is at least questionable whether Mitchell showed good tactics, considered from a trade union point of view, in accepting a Committee of Arbitration whose membership was so decidedly capitalistic. While considering what they have granted to the miners, the question comes up, could they have given much less and had any surety that another strike would

not at once follow? It seems hard to believe that men living in the conditions that it has been shown the miners of Pennsylvania were living, and who had just been able to show such marvelous solidarity and organized resistance, would have remained quiet had they received much of anything less than what the Commission awarded them.

On the other hand, it must be at once admitted that the investigation of the Commission has not been without its value. Its proceedings when published will throw a flood of light upon industrial conditions in one of the greatest of American industries. This information will be of the greatest value in every battle which is waged against exploitation.

It is certain that the Pennsylvania Socialists who have shown such remarkable growth during and since the strike will derive new ammunition from this report for future battles. But neither of these things offers any argument in support of the arbitration of industrial disputes.

Just how sincere the capitalist press have been in declaring the decision to be a great victory for the strikers is seen by an extract from a private telegram which has come into our hands, which was sent out by a well known firm of Wall street brokers to their customers. After giving the terms of the Commission report they say of the demands: "All of these, particularly five, six, eight and nine, are absolutely in favor of operators. The first and second clauses were offered by Mr. Baer three months ago. This looks like favorable news for PENNSYLVANIA, ERIE FIRST and D. & H."

The "five, six, eight and nine," which they favor, are the clauses concerning check weighmen, directing the payment by operators directly to mine laborers, condemnation of boycott and of blacklist. So much for the present. When we come to consider the future we are confronted with the proposition stated above that the contending parties will get exactly what they are able to take. There is no power outside of either of the parties to enforce the decisions of the Commission. In so far as governmental power will be called into use it is upon the side of the operators. There will undoubtedly be another fight before this recognition is granted.

The most encouraging feature of the whole matter lies in the fact that the recent election returns from Pennsylvania have shown that a very large number of miners are aware of the importance of having governmental power on their side, and are uniting with the Socialist Party to that end. If Mitchell stands in the road to this movement as the public press credits him with doing, he will simply be crushed beneath it. The prestige which he has gained from the booming of the capitalist press will soon pass away and he will find himself dependent upon the only force from which he ever had a right to expect support, that of the workers.

In the mean time E. E. Clark has been rewarded for his work on the Commission by receiving a fat governmental appointment in the new Department of Commerce. Query: If he has assisted in the gaining of so great a victory for the mine workers and consequent de-

feat for the operators, why does a government controlled by the class to which the operators belong, see fit to reward him?

Owing to the pressure of work entailed by his position on the Appeal to Reason, Comrade Untermann has been compelled to sever his connection with the International Socialist Review. Those who have followed his work on the foreign department will be aware that this means a significant loss. He has built up this department until it has constituted a complete current history of the international Socialist movement. We shall endeavor in the future to as far as possible maintain this high standard, and will as before supplement it with original articles by our foreign correspondents and translations of articles from the leading foreign publications bearing upon special topics.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

That the trade union movement will be compelled to face a new issue in the near future is an absolute certainty. Some of the present conservative leaders have been flattering themselves that the capitalistic brethren would meet them on neutral ground and discuss and arbitrate the "irrepressible conflict," but, despite the fact that the National Civic Federation was formed by a few shrewd politicians and pulpiteers for the purpose of "harmonizing" the contending elements, the class struggle is waging more fiercely than ever. We have seen with what contempt Morgan treated the iron and steel workers when the latter were compelled to battle for their lives a year and a half ago, and how the anthracite barons disdained to meet with the mine workers last fall. Now comes a crisis in the railway world—the trainmen are enjoined by the courts from striking on the Wabash, Railway and seats and Pinkertons by the thousands are held in readiness at this writing to aid Bro. Capital in warring Bro. Labor. From New York comes the report that the National Structural Iron Manufacturers' Association, representing firms in all the leading cities with a total capital of a billion dollars, has been organized for the purpose of smashing the unions that contemplate making demands for increased wages, and it is thought that by the first of May 300,000 men will be involved in a national strike if they persist in demanding better conditions. Already over three thousand men are out in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New York, Marietta and Youngstown, Ohio. The bridge and structural iron manufacturers are organizing their scabs for the purpose of undermining the unions, and the storm center of the struggle is now at Pittsburg. Then the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades' Association, and various other national organizations of employers are pushing the work of combining their strength to resist the aggressions of trade unions. In Ohio, Indiana and Illinois especially the capitalists are active and combative. From Dayton, O., the Kirby crowd is organizing the employers in scores of cities; from Indianapolis, Ind., the Parry machinery is spreading out, and from Chicago, Mr. Fredrick W. Job is ransacking the State of Illinois, as well as neighboring States, with local associations of employers. The latter gentleman boasts of having organized the capitalists in 24 cities during the last few months and expects to double the number before the end of the year. We have already seen that Parry claims that his organization has grown from two hundred to as many thousand members in the last year, and he is directing a myriad of subalterns in the work of

combining his fellow-capitalists. The "busy bees" of Dayton are also operating in a manner that is indicative of growing power among the would-be union masters of the Buckeye State. The National Metal Trades' Association is swamping the metal manufacturers with literature on the necessity of getting together to resist the "unreasonable demands" of the unions, and it is re-enforced by the National Economic League, which is particularly disturbed by the "Socialistic sentiment" among the unions. Furthermore in the extreme East, in the South and the West combinations of capitalists are forming everywhere under various names for the purpose of keeping the laboring people in their places and oppressing them a little more if possible. It will probably not take long until these various organizations are federated in the manner suggested by Mr. Herman Jüst, of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, and Hanna's Civic Federation, and who is being regarded in certain circles just now as "labor's friend." When that plan has been arranged it is practically certain that organized labor will not be welcomed with open arms to make demands for higher wages and shorter working time and other improved conditions. On the contrary, labor will receive scant courtesy, and if labor goes on strike the army of professional scabs that will be kept in reserve can be thrown into the breach, protected by the new kind of militia paraphernalia that is being passed out by the war department and the injunctions of the courts. Probably it makes certain so-called labor leaders feel good for the time being when they deny the existence of a class struggle—perhaps because Hanna and Grover Cleveland and Archbishop Ireland and Sissy Easley and the rest of the Civicers utter honeyed words and bill and coo like a suckling dove—but, in the words of a great statesman, "facts is facts," and whether the clash between the workers and the capitalists for the wealth the former produce is perceptible to near-sighted people or not it is here and will have to be met. Organization on the part of workers in unions is a correct principle, but since the capitalists control the national, State and municipal governments it is necessary that the workers likewise organize themselves into the Socialist party, and, being as ten to one, wrest those governmental powers from capital at the ballot-box when they will gain the freedom and equality for which their class has been struggling for centuries.

* * *

The Window Glass Workers' Union, probably the most powerful labor organization in the world, has been delivered a mortal blow. The American Window Glass Co., the trust, has introduced machinery and all of its thousands of workers have been told that their services were no longer required and its plants have been closed to be refitted with machines. An expert who has witnessed the operation of the machines in the trust plant at Alexandria, Ind., says that eight machines equal the output of 54 blowers and 54 gatherers. The machines blow glass in any length and thickness desired, one ordinary laborer runs two machines, the product is superior to the hand-blown article, the output is greater and the cost about one-fifth of the old method. The revolution is complete. The skilled workers have lost their jobs forever; the trust owns the machines, and it is doubtful whether

prices of window glass will be lowered much, except perhaps for a short time to run the small plants off the earth. This is another cold fact and not a theory that confronts the workers. Mark you, the capitalists, who own the machines, will prosper while labor suffers and starves. Under Socialism the window glass workers would have their labor time reduced and would operate the machines, while their recompense would be materially increased. But labor votes to give capital the machinery and the land and the wealth produced, and gets what it votes for.

* * *

Henry Clews, J. J. Hill, Yerkes and other multi-millionaires, are busy denouncing the "greed" of the labor unions. They are declaring in interviews and circulars that the laboring people are making such unreasonable demands that capitalists are discouraged from investing for fear of making no profits, and also that production is costing so much that foreign markets are slipping away from U. S.—"us." The great capitalists contend that the country has reached the apex of prosperity and is now gradually dropping back into a period of industrial stagnation. Reports from Wall street seem to confirm these calamity howls. The markets are said to be sluggish and that there is only professional trading, while the great capitalists are unloading their doubtful securities and evidently preparing for a storm. In three years upward of five billions worth (or worthless) stocks and bonds have been floated on the street, and fully ten per cent of that amount cannot be placed. The powers that be will probably squeeze the sponge and let some of the water that the middle class capitalists own run out—they call it "liquidation." Then the big fellows can step in, after much of the water has been drained from the street, and catch the suckers at their ease and their price, and once more inflate their holdings. It's a great game and would be amusing if it were not that the workers are compelled to sit around and hunger and suffer until the captains of industry see fit to start the wheels going again. The cause for the decline is, of course, not that labor secures too much of what it produces, but not enough. The unconsumed surplus increases and is reflected in the trading among the money-changers and brokers and gamblers. The element of profit in the possession of the Clewses and Hills and Morgans and Rockefellers is the source of all the trouble. If the workers secured the full product of their toil they could exchange freely and on a basis of equality, and there would be no such periodical crises as the people now experience in the capitalistic system of production, which is upheld and defended by the Republican and Democratic parties.

* * *

Two more important conferences have been held during the past month to define the jurisdiction question between national unions. Representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters met in New York and were in session about ten days, but no settlement was arranged, although a better understanding was had than existed previously, which may result in closer affiliation later on. The brotherhood has about 150,000 mem-

bers at present, while the Society numbers but 3,000 in this country. The Society, however, is truly international, having branches in all the English-speaking countries on the globe, and a total membership approaching a hundred thousand. This Society has a million dollars in its strong box, and the funds are constantly equalized among the 850 branches in all parts of the world, so that if, for example, a strike broke out in Chicago the workers could be kept out indefinitely, while other beneficial features also serve to make the organization one of the strongest and most progressive in the world. The Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union also had a conference in Indianapolis, and the commission chosen to arbitrate their differences decided that the carpenters should control all outside labor and the woodworkers those who were employed in the mills. There is considerable criticism aimed at the Brotherhood in union circles. The feeling is that the latter organization has grown so rapidly that its officials have become flushed with success and are trying to overawe and absorb the other two organizations instead of using conciliatory measures and arranging a close federation that would result in final amalgamation. The outlook is that the "autonomy" question will be as much in evidence in the next convention of the A. F. of L. as it has been during the last three or four gatherings.

* * *

Labor has been organizing so rapidly in the South that the Bourbons are attempting to outlaw the strike. A bill has passed the South Carolina Senate which prohibits cotton and woolen factories and their operatives from engaging in sympathetic strikes and lockouts. The penalty is a fine of \$100 a day. So far as lockouts are concerned, the bosses can easily close a mill and say that business is bad or that to grant higher wages or reduction of hours will bankrupt them. The bill is aimed at labor and nobody else, and those Southern politicians are hypocrites, like the Northern brethren.

* * *

Well, the fact must be recorded that Congress has adjourned and the labor bills introduced at the beginning of the session are suspended between heaven and earth—they are up in the air! The politicians played pingpong with the labor bills. The eight-hour bill, the anti-injunction bill, the safety appliance bill and the prison labor bill were rushed through one branch of Congress and into a pigeon-hole in the other branch, as per agreement between the Senators and Representatives. The bill to create a department of labor and commerce was emasculated by striking out "labor" and then in a large measure destroyed the independence and usefulness of the Bureau of Labor by making it a step-child to be kicked into a corner of the Department of Commerce, which is and henceforth will be presided over by a rank partisan appointed by the President. This new department is also supposed to have supervision over the trusts, as well as labor, but nobody expects that Mr. Cortelyou will inaugurate any revolutionary or reactionary policy. Once certain labor leaders, so-called, had a dream that some day a real live labor man would have the opportunity of being in the Presidential household and stretching

his legs under the White House table, instead of playing waiter and butler and—voter. But the pipe went out. A "safe" man will inform us about labor and capital all that is considered well to know. The generation that was in babyhood when organized labor began to lobby for legislation has reached the scer and yellow leaf, but the labor bills are still sleeping soundly in pigeon-holes. It is bruited about that one of our great leaders, in an unguarded moment acknowledged that his trousers have been worn out at the knee owing to his long vigils and prayerful pleadings for the passage of labor bills. Some rantankerous Socialists may denounce the good old custom of begging for legislative crumbs and utter the wild and unpatriotic advice to "turn the rascals out" and elect labor men who understand their class interests. But they are extremists and "rainbow-chasers." What we need is object lessons, and the more the merrier. Hence the game will go on during the next Congress and the next. Amen—world without end.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Holland.

We have elsewhere in this number an article giving the particulars of the great struggle which is going on in Holland at this moment. At the time this was written the great question was what would the government do? The government has just answered this question by the introduction of a proposed law of which the following is an outline:

The first Act deals with strikes in general, and proposes that any single person, who, by a strike, even peacefully or otherwise, persuades another to stop work, shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of three months, or a maximum fine of 100 guilders; and when the same thing is done by two or more persons in common, the punishment will be doubled. The judge has the power to disfranchise persons thus convicted.

The second part of the same Act is concerned with strikes on public services, such as railways, post and telegraphy, and so on. And it proposes to make such strikes altogether illegal. Any single person thus employed and striking work shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of six months, or a fine of 300 guilders. A strike of two or more persons so employed will be treated as conspiracy, and punished with a maximum imprisonment of four years, without the alternative of a fine. The maximum punishment will be raised to six years' imprisonment if the public service is stopped in consequence of the strike. The leaders as well as the originators of the latter will equally be punished, while anyone who by speech or writing advises such employes to go on strike is to be held guilty of instigation, and is liable to a maximum of five years' imprisonment, or a fine of 300 guilders.

The second Act is to enable the government to form among the soldiers a reserve brigade to serve on railways in case the ordinary railway men stop work. The third Act appoints a committee to inquire into the work and conditions of the railway servants.

Against this proposed law the entire force of the social democracy in Holland is being used. Tremendous protest meetings are held everywhere. In the Chamber itself the government desired to discuss this subject in secret session, but the Socialists with the help of the liberals and radicals succeeded in compelling them to discuss it publicly. A committee of defense has been organized which

in the first week of the strike had circulated 200,000 manifestoes throughout the country. It roused a large number of local organizations to hold meetings of protest and is gathering large sums of money to carry on the fight in the future.

One of the first effects of this attack by the capitalist class was to drive together the hitherto disintegrated Socialist movement of Holland, touching which a correspondent of Vorwaerts says: "What has not been possible for many years and was scarcely to be expected in the near future has been accomplished by our government with its flashing of weapons and their preparation of oppression for the workers, namely, that the unity of the Socialist movement is making gigantic strides."

Meantime the Socialist organization of veterans and present members of the army have been circulating appeals to the soldiers not to act against their fellow workers. The government has arrested numerous persons prominent in the Socialist movement of Holland, for circulating manifestoes containing this appeal. That the agitation among the soldiers has not been in vain is shown by the fact that when the reserves were called out they marched through many streets with a red banner in front.

It is well understood that this movement received its impulse from the German railroad monster, Budde, who has for some time been urging a similar law. The German Social Democracy were quick to light a fire in the rear in order to attract the attention of the German officials who are assisting the Holland exploiters. The Vorwaerts has published a series of articles exposing the inhuman conditions existing on the State railroads of Prussia. It has pointed out that for wages of between 50 and 60 cents per day the laborers are required to work from 10 to 16 hours per day with practically no holidays. This overwork has its natural result in a large number of accidents, over 10,000 railroad employes being injured during the past year, one third of this number being killed.

"Het Volk," the organ of the Social Democracy of Holland, succeeded in discovering some secret circulars which had recently been issued by the government, one of which ordered the telegraph authorities not to forward telegrams sent by the unions in relation to the strike. As a final step in the fight the railroad workers hold themselves in readiness to declare a general strike on all the lines in case the proposed law is enacted, and it is this situation which is frightening the government. It is known that in preparation for such a strike a package of instructions has been sent out to the directors of the railroads and to the heads of departments containing three envelopes labeled as follows: The first to be opened at the moment of the outbreak of the strike; the second when the strike has once broken out, and the third when a telegram shall have been received containing a key word which has been secretly transmitted. "Het Volk" has discovered that this key word will be "authority," so that when this word is sent over the wires the Socialist telegraphers will know what to expect.

England.

The most important recent event in England is the meeting of the Labor Representation Committee which takes place about the middle of February. This Committee is supposed to be made up of the representatives from the I. L. P., the Fabian Society, and those unions which desire independent liberal representation. At the beginning the S. D. F. was represented in the conference, but when the conference refused to put itself on record as distinctly Socialist the S. D. F. dropped out. At the meeting just held there was little left to show the Socialist character of the meeting save that some of the most active members of the conference were Socialists. It looks very much as if the Socialism had been gradually dropping out in the effort to elect individuals to office. That the trade unionists see it in the same way is shown by numerous letters written by well known anti-Socialist trade unionists to Reynold's Weekly, complaining that the Labor Representation Committee was simply a scheme to get the trade unionists to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the benefit of the would-be Socialist office holders.

The unemployed problem has been occupying the attention of the English Socialists and the parades of the unemployed which have occupied so much space in the cable dispatches to this country have been organized by the S. D. F. of London. A meeting of the unemployed was held at the Guildhall on Feb. 27 and 28, where the following resolutions were adopted:

"That the responsibility for finding work for the unemployed in each district should be undertaken jointly by the local authorities and by the central government, and that such legislation should be introduced as would empower both central and local authorities to deal adequately with the problem."

"That the Prime Minister be requested to receive a deputation from this Conference in order to lay before him the urgent necessity for the following legislative and administrative proposals:

"(a) That this Conference, realizing that the interests of industry are the paramount interests of the community, and that the problem of the unemployed should be dealt with in a sympathetic as well as in a practical manner, urges upon the government the necessity of appointing a Minister of Industry, with a seat in the Cabinet, one of whose duties it shall be to organize a special department of his office to deal with recurring periods of distress, to watch for and notify indications of approaching lack of employment, to supplement the Board of Trade statistics, to obtain and disseminate information as to places where work can be had, to help in distributing labor where it is most needed, and, above all, to devise and to promote measures for the temporary and permanent utilization of the unemployed labor of the nation.

"(b) That the government forthwith introduce any legislation required, or take any other necessary steps to provide work for the unemployed;

"(1) By carrying into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Port of London.

"(2) By promptly granting loans and any other facilities on the application of local authorities for such purposes as laying out villages near great towns, constructing roads and other means of transit from crowded centers to such villages, reclaiming foreshores, afforesting, establishing, or utilizing farms and other labor colonies, and otherwise providing useful employment at trade union wages and for not more than 48 hours per week.

"(c) That in accordance with the recommendations of the House of Commons Committee of 1895, on Distress from Want of Employment, Boards of Guardians be empowered to give relief to the unemployed during special periods of industrial depression without disfranchising such recipients of relief.

"(d) That all work already decided on, in connection with the military, naval, postal, and other Departments of the Government, be put in hand at the earliest possible moment, and as many workmen as possible be employed thereon."

"That municipal and other local authorities be urged forthwith to take the following steps for coping with distress caused by unemployment:

"(a) By pressing forward all works already decided upon and by employing as many workers as possible on all works in hand, such work to be paid for by the hour or day.

"(b) By taking in hand, by direct labor where practicable, plans for draining and reclaiming foreshores and other waste land, demolishing slums and rehousing the inhabitants in villages on the outskirts of towns or otherwise, and undertaking the many other public works necessary for the health and well-being of the community.

"(c) By establishing Labor Registration Offices charged with ascertaining as accurately as may be the number and occupations of the unemployed, and co-operating with the central Government in finding useful work for such unemployed; the cost of maintenance to be charged upon the rates.

"(d) By opening Municipal Shelters for the homeless unemployed in times of exceptional distress, and if necessary applying to the Local Government Board to sanction expenditure for the same.

"(e) By the consolidation of all the unions in the metropolis into one district for the purposes of the administration of the Poor Law."

"That a permanent National Organization be formed in order to give effect to the decision of the Conference."

Justice, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation of England, reached its one thousandth number on March 14th, and in celebration of this issued an exceedingly large and interesting special number.

France.

Under the pressure of the Socialists of France the government has decided to increase the amount of pensions given to the superannuated and injured miners. Under the old pension law which was enacted under the pressure of the great strike of 1894 there were only 3,000 persons who were eligible to receive a pension of sufficient amount to be of any importance. Under the new law this is increased to over 12,000. This will require an additional expenditure of one million francs, one-third of which will be secured from the mining corporations through an increase in the State rent which they are required to pay and two-thirds comes from the general governmental funds.

Even the organization which was formed especially to represent the Millerand and Jaures position has now repudiated the actions of these men. The Seine federations of the Socialist France at its last meeting passed resolutions censuring Millerand by a vote of 71 to 56, and this resolution was designated as a "first warning." Another resolution which provided for the exclusion of Millerand from the Federation received 52 votes. While an attempt to whitewash the actions of Millerand received only 56 votes, among which nine votes were of members of Millerand's electoral committee.

Switzerland.

The reactionary movement still proceeds. One of the hardest fought battles of the democratic movement in Switzerland was waged in order to secure the right of popular election of teachers in the city of Zurich, and this has recently been abolished by the cantonal council. The Socialist Seidel, who is well known as one of the foremost writers on educational subjects in Europe, Erismann, Pfluger, Ernst, and others have made a strong fight against this movement.

Sweden.

The Swedish organization of young Socialists held a Congress in Stockholm on the 21st and 22d of February. According to the official report the organization has grown from 15 clubs with 500 members in 1901, to 17 clubs with 890 members. Besides this membership there is still a large number of such other clubs which have not yet united with the general organization so that the total membership of the Socialist young men's organization of Sweden is about 2,000.

Belgium.

The Socialists of Belgium have introduced a law to reduce the hours of labor in the mines to nine, and providing that at the end of three years, this shall be further reduced to eight hours.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Social Unrest, by John Graham Brooks. The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 394, pp. \$1.50.

This is a type of book of which we may expect a great many during the next few years. The facts upon which Socialism is based are now so forcing themselves to the front that even the universities can no longer neglect them. But it would not do to admit that the Socialists had seen and interpreted these facts correctly before the economists of the colleges. Under the head of "some generalities," the author brings together many of the things that are disturbing the social equilibrium and points out how the forces of the capitalist and laboring class are massing for battle and comes to the following significant conclusion: "The employers have only to convince organized labor that it cannot hold its own against the capitalist manager, and the whole energy that now goes to the union will turn to an aggressive political Socialism. It will not be the harmless sympathy with increased city and State functions which trade unions already feel; it will become a turbulent political force bent upon using every weapon of taxation against the rich." To be sure his use of the words "turbulent" and "taxation" in the last clause renders it well-nigh meaningless but otherwise he is but confirming the Socialist position. In the same way in his chapter on "Politics and Business," he states the fact of class government quite as plainly as could be wished. "Our magnates of industry," he tells us, "have not preached paternalism, but, in season and out of season, they have practiced it. . . . They have not merely looked to the government to assist their enterprises, they have taken possession of it. . . . No lackey was ever more subservient to his master than Pennsylvania to its railroads, or than the State of California to the Southern Pacific. These corporations have owned the States, as the landlords in England owned the rotten boroughs before the reform."

He points out how completely the Democratic party is affiliated with the small property interests and the Republican party with the large capitalists and gives some interesting instances of the effect of recent developments in the Southern States on this fact.

The chapter on "The Social Unrest" is one of the most valuable in the book because of the historical material which it contains concerning the source and development of class struggles in America. He sums up the difference between the unrest of to-day and that of previous times by pointing out that the discontent of to-day, is not only

discontent plus education; not only discontent plus the press to voice it; it is discontent plus the vote."

The chapter on "Man and Society vs. Machinery," has much very good material on the effect of the machine on the worker, although it makes a ridiculously feeble showing beside the work of many of the minor Socialist writers to say nothing of the material contained in Marx's "Capital."

When he comes to treat directly of Socialism he is much less satisfactory. He gives a history of Socialism with one paragraph devoted to Marx and Marxian economics and in this he shows little understanding of his subject. In "Socialism in the Making," he descends to positive misrepresentation, as where he implies that the French Socialists have done little beside making a "very raw attempt to catch the working class vote by giving away the public money," or that their main boast is the amount they have given for charity. The writer of this spent some time in some of these very cities mentioned in company with the municipal officials and talked with them and read their literature and never saw anything to bear out such a conclusion, while he did see any amount of positive active work being done. But it is very easy to discover the animus of this sort of talk. Professor Brooks is trying to demonstrate that only the "opportunist" wing of the Socialist movement is worthy of consideration and the French municipalities are controlled by the Guesdists,—the French Marxians. When he comes to speak of Jaures and Millerand he is filled with enthusiasm for the "holiest of all crusades" that they are leading against militarism, although up to the present time this crusade has begun and ended in flowery speeches inside and outside the Chamber of Deputies. Then after declaring that the party represented by Jaures is gaining over the ones who are doing the actual work in the municipalities (which is not a fact), he finishes the confusion by referring to this alleged movement as "substituting work for phrases!" The chapter "From Revolution to Reform," repeats all the platitudes of the "revisionists" with which Socialists are so familiar. One sentence will show how fair his position is. He says: "Steps in factory legislation that were once jeered at are now approved." It would be news to any Socialist to be told when and where Marx or Engels for example, had ever "jeered at factory legislation."

The discussion of "Socialism at Work" contains much that is valuable concerning the Belgian government, but it is equally disfigured by misleading, not to say dishonest, statements. He continually tells of alleged inconsistencies on the part of the Socialist co-operatives in that they worked some of their employes over eight hours, that they used piece work, etc., and based his criticisms upon the idea that the Socialists really consider the co-operative "Socialism at Work," when he must be well aware of the fact that both in their literature and speeches it is continually pointed out that the co-operative is in no sense of the word Socialism. When the writer of this visited the "Maison du Peuple" in Brussels the guide was very careful to explain to him repeatedly that such work was not to be con-

sidered a part of Socialism, and the manner in which he said the words showed that he was using some oft-repeated phrases.

His attempt to show that the idea of the general strike is now considered as "nonsense" by the Socialists sounds laughable in view of recent events in France, Belgium and Holland. All the cheap and dishonest means of fighting Socialism that have done service these many years are to be found in the book, although they are given a less prominent place than a few years ago. We find insinuations of connection between the "equalitarian" theories of Jefferson and the early Utopians, and modern Socialism, hints concerning a "violent form of Socialism," the worn-out argument against the class struggle drawn from the fact that prominent Socialists have belonged to other classes, etc. In general the weakness of the book lies in the fact that the author depends upon insinuations for his arguments and gossip for his information. It is difficult to answer either but their presentation does not carry conviction to intelligent minds.

Notwithstanding all these glaring defects it is a book that the Socialists may well welcome. In spite of himself the author presents enough of evidence to overthrow his own decisions. It will leave the reader well disposed toward Socialism and will give him considerable valuable information concerning social conditions and the Socialist movement. The reading of some book like Kautsky's "Social Revolution," will serve to brush away any ideas he might get from the book to the effect that Socialism was giving up its revolutionary character, and on the whole it is probable that the book will result in introducing many readers to Socialism who on account of their intellectual snobbery would disdain to begin a study of Socialism by reading what the Socialists themselves had to say.

Shrouds with Pockets, by Henry E. Allen. J. A. Wayland. Paper, illustrated, 120 pp., 25 cents.

A series of striking snap-shots of present society are strung along on the thread of an interesting story. The effect of lack of employment, the oppression of capital, the crushing weight of the trust, the prostitution of our great institutions of learning—all are pictured with considerable power and vividness. The characters of the book are largely given names drawn from the list of well-known Socialist workers, although there would seem to be no attempt to make them act true to the character whose names they are given. The book is well printed on first class book paper, with a large number of photographs of persons prominent in the Socialist and reform movement of America. It should prove a valuable addition to the propaganda literature of Socialism, since it is distinctly different from anything else in the field. There is a utopian point of view pervading the whole book and a tendency to ignore the class struggle position, which together with some attempts to drag in matter on the sex question having no relation to Socialism, constitute the most serious defects of the book.

The Municipality from Capitalism to Socialism, by Ernest Untermann. Appeal to Reason. Paper, 30 pp., five cents.

This is distinctly the best thing yet published on this subject. It gives definiteness to several hitherto loosely used terms, sets forth what must finally come to be the Socialist attitude on municipal problems in a clear and scientific manner. "The development of the municipality shows three distinct stages. The first is the development toward private monopoly. . . . The second stage is what I term municipal capitalism. . . . The third stage is municipal Socialism." These three stages are thoroughly discussed with a wealth of statistical and other information, and the attitude of the Socialist movement toward them is clearly pointed out.

When John Bull Comes A-Courtin', by Lucien V. Rule. Caxton Publishing Company, Louisville, Ky. Paper, fancy cover, thirty pages, fifty cents.

The bards of Socialism are increasing in number and improving in quality daily. This little book of beautifully printed poems contains some that are really gems. Rather than attempt to characterize the whole, we give the following as a sample:

SOCIALISM.

Like a majestic cloud from out the west,
When all the world is sickened with the heat,
She rose with shadowy wings and solace sweet.
And lo, th' unbearable beauty of her breast
Was changed to lightning wrath where men did wrest
The wages of the toiler from his hand,
And dared despoil the widow of the land;
But heavy-laden hearts with dreams were blessed.
And when she spake some trembled at her voice,
While others, wiser, wakened to rejoice.
Her words struck terror to the souls of men,
While others were from very rapture dumb.
Then saw I truth is to him who reads
Or hard or kind according to his deeds.

* * *

Introduction to Socialism, by N. A. Richardson. Appeal to Reason. Paper, forty-six pages, five cents.

This is one more of the very large number of propaganda pamphlets that are coming out all the time. It seems to be somewhat better than the average, is well written, covers the subject quite thoroughly, appeals to both farmer and wage worker and should prove a great help in the capture of the world for Socialism.

Referendum and Initiative in City Government, by John R. Commons, published by Ginn & Co.

This pamphlet is a reprint from the Political Science Quarterly and is largely based upon a distinction which the author draws between the "Political problem" and the "Business problem" in cities. He does not seem to realize that this distinction is unimportant to-day, and is merely a transient phase peculiar to the last years of capitalism when the forces that are struggling for control of the political

power have divergent interests in the business sphere. When government surrenders its function as the ruler of persons and becomes merely an administrator of things with class antagonism abolished, all of his fine spun distinctions will be gone.

Other pamphlets received this month which deserve more than the passing notice which our space enables us to give them are "Socialism the Basis of Universal Peace," by Dr. Howard A. Gibbs; Socialism and the Negro Problem, by Charles H. Vail, both of which are published by the Comrade Publishing Co., and "The Law of Socialism," published by the author, C. Frank Hathaway, of New York City.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

New Socialist Books.

We are happy to announce for immediate publication four new Socialist books, each one of more than ordinary significance. This means two things, first, that American Socialist writers are coming to the front with ideas worth expressing; second, that the co-operative organization of our publishing company has provided the capital necessary to make at least a beginning in the work of putting the best Socialist thought within the reach of the millions of workers who need the Socialist message. This does not mean that the capital now at our disposal is adequate—far from it. We are constantly obliged to reject excellent manuscripts from lack of capital to print them, and some of the greatest Socialist classics are still out of the reach of American readers for lack of the money needed to pay translators and printers. But the work is now on a self-sustaining basis, every dollar of new capital goes not to make up deficits but to increase the variety of literature offered to American Socialists and students of Socialism. The April publications of Charles H. Kerr & Company as follows:

FEUERBACH: THE ROOTS OF THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY.

Comrade Austin Lewis of San Francisco has rendered a notable service to the Socialist movement of the world by the scholarly yet lucid translation and the helpful introduction which he has supplied to this masterly work of Engels. The work itself is so condensed and so full of ideas of the utmost importance to Socialists that we shall make no attempt to summarize it here. It deals with the philosophic basis of Socialism, with the relations of Socialism to religious and "free thought" movements, and with the sentimental ideas which some Socialists even now desire to inject into Socialism. The book is handsomely printed and bound, and is number eight of the Standard Socialist Series. Price 50 cents.

GOD'S CHILDREN. BY JAMES ALLMAN.

This is "a modern allegory" which is beyond any doubt or cavil a work of genius. The reckless audacity of the author's prologue in heaven is startling in the extreme, but it is a fitting introduction to the body of the work. With all his audacity and with all his enthu-

siasm, the author has a saving sense of humor which never leaves him, and even those who are flayed most thoroughly by his satire can not deny the fine literary quality of the work. Those who care nothing for style will delight in the book despite of its good style, for it is full of action—something doing on every page. It will be handsomely printed in large type, prettily bound in cloth, and sold at fifty cents. It will delight every reader with the possible exception of those who are entirely orthodox in their theology, and for these we have a consolation in the book next described.

THE ROOT OF ALL KINDS OF EVIL.

Rev. Stewart Sheldon, a prominent orthodox minister, the father of Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, whose Utopian novels have been so widely read, comes out unequivocally for the Socialist Party in this pamphlet. Moreover, he demonstrates the soundness of his position by a clear and convincing argument, starting from the teachings of Jesus which are at least nominally accepted by all Christians. He shows the ruinous effect of capitalism upon the minds and bodies of the workers, and points out that the remedy must come through the Socialist movement. We can heartily recommend this book to those who wish something stating the religious arguments for Socialism. Paper, 10 cents.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN AMERICA. BY A. M. SIMONS.

Most of the literature of international Socialism takes its historical illustrations from Europe. This is natural in view of the newness of the movement here, yet the history of America, uncomplicated by survivals of feudalism, is richer than the history of any other country in facts proving the truth of the Socialist philosophy. In "Class Struggles in America," A. M. Simons has briefly sketched the economic causes underlying the more conspicuous events of American history, the revolt from England, the civil and foreign wars, the rise and fall of parties, the growth of the colossal trusts, and finally the approaching and inevitable collapse of capitalism and the historic role to be played by the Socialist Party. "Class Struggles in America" is a book that no Socialist can afford to miss, and it will also prove an effective propaganda pamphlet. Paper, 10 cents.

SPECIAL OFFER ON NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE REVIEW.

For one dollar we will send The Review one year to a new name, and will send postpaid any book or books published or imported by us to the amount of one dollar at advertised prices. To any subscriber who wishes to obtain several dollars' worth of books, and has not time to secure a corresponding number of new subscribers before writing, we will, if requested AT THE TIME THE MONEY IS SENT, include with each dollar's worth of books a subscription post-card good for The Review one year to a new name.

What to Read on Socialism.

This propaganda booklet has been newly revised and in great part rewritten, so that in its present form we do not hesitate to recommend it for circulation with a view to making Socialists. The first nine pages have been entirely changed from the former edition, and are now taken up with a statement of the Socialist position in the simplest possible language. The remainder of the book consists in a description of the various Socialist books and pamphlets of merit which are accessible to English readers. These are described in such a way as to enable the reader to make an intelligent selection of the particular books containing the particular information that he is in search of at a particular time. The new edition contains descriptions of twenty of the most important works in the Social Science Series, imported from England, as well as of all the most important American books on Socialism. Mechanically, the booklet is exactly like a number of the Pocket Library of Socialism, but it is supplied at the nominal price of 25 cents a hundred by express, or 50 cents a hundred by mail, while a single copy is sent free to any one requesting it.

The Social Revolution.

A recent issue of the Social Democratic Herald says:

"The Socialist movement in America is distinctly indebted to Kautsky for a large share of the available propaganda matter that it made use of in the days when the work was uphill and small of results and proselytes discouragingly few. Chapters of a former work of his were translated, with some mischievous liberties, it is true, and were used as leaflets and pamphlets. The teachings of these leaflets furnished a good ground work, for those who did not read them slavishly, for a general conception of the principles of Social Democracy. The present work is a riper book by the great German thinker and deserves the widest possible sale. No American Socialist library can be complete without it, and the thanks of our American Socialists are due to Messrs. Kerr & Co. for issuing it in such attractive and readable form, and yet at so reasonable a price. The Socialist press has already published chapters and extracts from it, through the kindness of the publishers in supplying advance proofs, and also portions of the translation by Justice of London have also been presented, so that our readers are more or less familiar with it, and no extended review is necessary at this time. The book is divided into two parts. The first concerns itself with: 'Reform and Revolution.' The second is headed: 'The Day After the Revolution.' The first part is most instructive, yet the greatest interest attaches to the second portion, which will not be found to be as Utopian as its title suggests. It is speculative, of course, but very reasonably so, and the author at the start disarms possible critics by explaining that he does not wish to imply by the words 'the day after' that Socialism is to come full-fledged overnight or that capitalism will cease its control through one fell swoop of an awakened political proletariat. In fact this part is an attempt to show how it will be necessary for the people, once they have gained the control, to proceed in a progressive,

orderly way to reconstruct society. He aims to show that the old criticism of the Socialists that 'the moment they win they are lost,' is not warranted by the probabilities. As we have said, no one should be without this work."

The first edition of "The Social Revolution" is nearly exhausted, and it is selling more rapidly than ever. It is published in the Standard Socialist Series, substantially bound in red cloth, and the price, postage included, is 50 cents, to stockholders 30 cents.

Co-Operation in Publishing Socialist Literature.

A booklet bearing this title, and giving a full account of the organization of our co-operative company, will be mailed to any one requesting it. Address

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers,
56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

Books of Scientific Socialism.

ALLEN, Henry E. A Study in Government.	\$0.05	— Revolution and Counter-Revolution..	1.00
AYELING, Edward. The Student's Marx..	1.00	— Wage Labor and Capital.....	.05
BELLAMY, Edward. Plutocracy or Nationalism, Which?.....	.05	MARX and ENGELS. The Communist Manifesto..	.50
BADEN-POWELL, B. H. Village Communities in India.....	1.00	— The same in paper.....	.10
BAX, E. Belfort. The Ethics of Socialism..	1.00	MACHINIST, A Black-Listed. Capital and Labor.....	.25
— Outlooks from the New Standpoint.....	1.00	MASSART and VANDERVELDE. Parasitism, Organic and Social.....	1.00
— Story of the French Revolution.....	1.00	MAYNARD, Milla Tupper. Walt Whitman..	1.00
— The Religion of Socialism.....	1.00	MILLS, Walter Thomas. How to Work for Socialism.....	.05
BERNSTEIN, Edward, Ferdinand Lassalle..	1.00	MORMAN, James H. The Principles of Social Progress.....	.50
BLATCHFORD, Rob't. Britain for the British	.50	MORRIS and Bax. Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.....	1.25
— The same in paper.....	.25	NEWSPAPER MAN, A. Man of Dollar, Which?.....	.25
— Imprudent Marriages.....	.05	NOYES, W. H. The Evolution of the Class Struggle.....	.05
— Merrie England.....	.10	PERSINGER, C. E. Letters from New America	.50
BLISS, H. L. Plutocracy's Statistics.....	.10	— The same in paper.....	.25
BOUROFF, Basil. The Impending Crisis..	.35	PLATO. The Republic. Book I.....	.15
BROOME, Isaac. The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association.....	.50	— The same. Book II.....	.15
BROWN, W. I. Open Letter from a Catholic to Pope Leo XIII.....	.02	— The same. Book III.....	.15
— The Real Religion of Today.....	.05	ROBERTS, Evelyn H. The Pure Causeway..	1.00
— The Axe at the Root.....	.05	— The same in paper.....	.50
— The Relation of Religion to Social Ethics.....	.05	RODBERTUS, Karl. Over-production and Criseses.....	1.00
CARPENTER, Edward. England's Ideal.....	1.00	ROGERS, J. E. Thorold. Work and Wages..	1.00
— Civilization, Its Cause and Cure.....	1.00	SCHAEFFLE, Dr. The Quintessence of Socialism.....	1.00
— Love's Coming of Age.....	1.00	SIMONS, A. M. The American Farmer.....	.50
COREY, W. A. How I Acquired My Millions	.05	— The Economic Foundation of Art.....	.05
DARROW, Clarence S. Crime and Criminals	.10	— Packingtown.....	.05
— In Memory of John P. Altgeld.....	.05	— Single Tax vs. Socialism.....	.05
— Realism in Literature and Art.....	.05	— The Man Under the Machine.....	.05
— Resist Not Evil.....	.75	— Socialism and Farmers.....	.05
DAWSON, W. H. Bismarck and State Socialism.....	1.00	— What the Socialists Would Do if They Won in This City.....	.05
— German Socialism and Lassalle.....	1.00	— Socialism vs. Anarchy.....	.05
ENGELS, Frederick. Condition of the English Working Class in 1844.....	1.25	— The Philosophy of Socialism.....	.05
— The Origin of the Family.....	.50	— What is a Scab?.....	.02
— Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.....	.50	— The Class Struggle.....	.02
— The same in paper.....	.10	SIMONS, May Wood, Woman and the Social Problem.....	.05
HERRON, Geo. D. Why I Am a Socialist..	.05	SOCIALIST Campaign Book.....	.25
HINDS, Wm. A. American Communities..	1.00	SOMBART, Werner. Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century.....	1.00
KAUTSKY, Karl. Life of Frederick Engels	.10	TWINING, T. Intemperance and Poverty..	.05
— The Social Revolution.....	.50	VAIL, Charles H. The Socialist Movement	.10
KELLEY, J. W. Industrial Democracy.....	.05	— The Mission of the Working Class...	.05
KERR, Charles H. Morals and Socialism..	.05	— The Trust Question.....	.05
— The Folly of Being "Good".....	.05	VANDERVELDE, Emile. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.....	.50
— (Compiler). Socialist Songs.....	.05	— The same in paper.....	.25
— Socialist Songs with Music.....	.20	WATERS, Robert. John Swinton.....	.25
KERR, May Walden. Socialism and the Home.....	.05	WENTWORTH, Franklin H. The Pride of Intellect.....	.05
LA FARGUE, Paul. The Evolution of Property.....	1.00	WILSHIRE, H. Gaylord. Trusts and Imperialism.....	.05
— Socialism and the Intellectuals.....	.05	— Why Workingmen should be Socialists.....	.02
LIEBKNECHT, Wilhelm. No Compromise..	.10	WOOLDRIDGE, Dr. C. W. The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand.....	.10
— Memoirs of Karl Marx.....	.50	YOUNG, Walter L. Rational Prohibition..	.05
— Socialism, What it is, and What it Seeks to Accomplish.....	.10		
LORIA, Achille. The Economic Foundations of Society.....	1.25		
MACKAY, H. W. Boyd. A Sketch of Social Evolution.....	.05		
MCDILL, J. T. Let's All Get Rich.....	.02		
MARX, Karl. Capital. Cloth, 847 pages..	2.00		

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW edited by A. M. Simons, is the one periodical which every well-informed socialist finds an absolute necessity. Its contributors are the ablest socialist writers of Europe and America. It is the recognized medium for the discussion of the most vital questions of party policy.

SPECIAL OFFER. For one dollar we will send **THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW** one year to a new subscriber (one who has never been a subscriber before), and will mail any book or books from the above list to the amount of one dollar at advertised prices.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, 56 FIFTH AVE., CHICAGO